A MEMORIAL VOLUME OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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A MEMORIAL VOLUME OF AMERICAN HISTORY

McKINLEY

AND MEN OF OUR TIMES

TOGETHER WITH

THE GREAT QUESTIONS

WITH WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AND WHICH ARE STILL PRESSING FOR SOLUTION

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

1901

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE WORLD SHOULD KNOW (*Introduction*) 29

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

I. As We Knew Him.—Mr. McKinley Was One of Us—Love for His Wife and Mother—The Old, Old Story—His Affection for Little Children—Care for the Old Soldiers—His High Sense of Honor—Above Envy—Making Others' Wishes His Own—Cherished No Ill Feelings—The Incarnation of Courtesy—A High Type of Courage—A Devout Christian—Taking His Measure 81

II. A Good Beginning.—The McKinleys—Well Born—"A Good Boy"—A Playmate's Testimony—Mother McKinley—Humble Circumstances—At School 89

III. A Youthful Soldier.—How He Enlisted—A Tribute from His Superior Officer—A Heroic Deed—A Fearful Risk—A Charmed Life—Gallantry and Military Skill—His Promotions 94

IV. Chooses the Law.—Studies at the Albany Law School—Finds a Partner—A Bow-Legged Plaintiff—Elected Prosecuting Attorney 99

V. Chooses a Wife.—A Real Love Story—Early Sorrows—Death of Their Children—Mrs. McKinley 103

VI. Chosen for Public Service.—"A Country Politician"—One of His Early Efforts—"Introduced into Politics"—Elected to Congress—Blaine's Impressions of the Young Representative—At the Feet of "Pig-Iron" Kelley—In Politics to Stay 106

PAGE

VII. A BRILLIANT CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.—Exhibits Marked Parliamentary Ability—True to His Friends—Leadership in the Tariff Debate—Scrupulous Honor—A Remarkable Speech—Waives Aside a Presidential Nomination Which Might Have Been His—A National Figure—The McKinley Tariff—His Frankness—Defeated for Congress.. 110

VIII. GOVERNOR OF OHIO.—Nominated by Acclamation—A Creditable Record—His Financial Misfortune—Elected to a Second Term 118

IX. AS A CAMPAIGNER.—A Remarkable Campaign—Breaks the Record—His Powers of Endurance—Remembered Faces Well—Always Approachable—A Man of the People.... 121

X. AS AN ORATOR.—A Happy Faculty—Some Noble Sentiments—Not a Humorist but Fond of a Joke—One of His Own—A Town Without a Cuspidor—"Bossing the President"—His Intense Conviction..... 126

XI. THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF '96.—The Logical Candidate—The Chicago Convention—Mark Hanna—Mr. McKinley at Home During the Convention—How He Received the News of His Nomination—William J. Bryan—A Peculiar Situation—Sixteen to One—Growth of Sound Money Sentiment—A Reluctant Champion of Gold.... 131

XII. PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE.—In Touch with the Plain People—A Faculty for Making Friends—On Good Terms with Both Parties in Both Houses—He Loved the Familiar Greetings of the Crowds—Enjoying a Mob—Selecting His Cabinet—In the Hands of the Reporters—The Dingley Act—His Methods of Work..... 137

XIII. THE SPANISH WAR AND AFTER.—Controversy Over the Treatment of Cuba by Spain—Disaster to the "Maine"—Holding out Against the Inevitable—His Message on the Cuban Question—Grounds of Intervention—The War and Its Results—Dewey's Victory—The Policy of Expansion—Mr. McKinley's Review of the War—The Filipinos 144

XIV. A SECOND TERM.—Nominated for a Second Term Without Opposition—Looking Backward—Pledges Kept—The Tariff—Our Island Possessions—Moving in Untried

PAGE

Paths—Foreign Trade—Outlook for Reduction of Taxes —Extending Foreign Commerce—A Maritime Canal— Monopolies—Encouraging Labor—Elected by the Largest Popular Vote Ever Given to a Candidate..... 155

XV. HIS GREATEST SERVICE TO THE NATION.—His Dearest Wish —A Union in Reality—The Right Man at the Right Moment—His Commission of Peace—He Knew the South— His Recognition of Southern Patriotism—The Welding of the Nation 167

XVI. HIS GUARDIAN ANGEL.—The Appeal of Frailty—His Wife His Inspiration—A Beautiful Tribute—Lovers to the End —Mrs. McKinley's Most Distinguishing Traits—Her Love for Little Children, Flowers and Music—Feminine in All Her Traits—Crocheting Dainty Little Slippers by the Thousand—Her Everyday Life—A New Side to Her Character 173

XVII. MCKINLEY'S HOME LIFE.—The Unpretentious Cottage in Canton—Humble Beginning—He Cherished Her—Modest Social Tastes—Mother McKinley's Faith in Her Son.... 180

XVIII. HIS LAST SPEECH.—At the Buffalo Exposition—Expositions Time-Keepers of Progress—A Broad and Enlightened Policy—A Mutual Exchange of Commodities—The Pressing Problem—Need of Direct Commercial Lines to New Fields—A Tribute to Blaine—Immortal Words... 185

XIX. THE SHOT THAT SHOCKED THE WORLD.—Tour Across the Continent—Would not Accept a Nomination for a Third Term if Tendered—President's Day at the Buffalo Exposition—The Tragedy—A Modern Iscariot—A Sublime Exhibition of Moral Grandeur—A Crazed Multitude— The Assassin—The Wound—"Thy Will Be Done"—A Terror-Stricken People—How the News Was Received Throughout the World..... 189

XX. A WORLD IN TEARS.—The Rise and Fall of Hope—Apparent Improvement Followed by Alarming Signs—Growing Rapidly Worse—"I Want to See the Trees"—"Nearer, My God, to Thee"—"It's God's Way; His Will be Done" —The Nation Mourns—England Profoundly Moved— Sorrow on the Continent—Sorrow Everywhere..... 197

PAGE

XXI. THE LAST SAD RITES.—Senator Hanna's Farewell—Lying in State—The Start for Washington—The Last Night in the White House—The State Funeral—A Touching Tribute—No Stain Upon His Escutcheon—A Last Look—The Last Journey—Sorrowing Onlookers—Home Again—All Canton Grief-Stricken—Italian Workmen Pray for the Dead President's Soul—The Last Rest..... 201

XXII. A MARVELOUS TRIBUTE.—All the Great Activities of American Life Cease as the Casket is Placed in the Vault—Services in Westminster Abbey—Salutes on Distant Seas 214

XXIII. PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.—Mr. Charles M. Pepper—Senator McLaurin—Congressman Hall—A Watchman's Story—The Boy Reporter of the *New York World*..... 219

XXIV. WHAT THE WORLD THOUGHT OF HIM.—Estimates by President Roosevelt, President Diaz, Cardinal Gibbons, Grover Cleveland, Andrew Carnegie, General John B. Gordon, Attorney-General Griggs; Governors Beckham, Geer, Candler, Heard, Toole, Tyler, Hunn, Jordan, Vorhees, Odell; D. B. Hill; Senators Hoar, Dolliver, Clay, Pettus, Cockrell, Burrows, Foraker, Platt; Representatives Sulzer, Sherry, Champ Clark; Honorable Hoke Smith, John Wanamaker, Mayor Mims, Joseph H. Manley, Judge Emory Spear, H. St. George Tucker, Secretary John D. Long, President Venable..... 233

XXV. THE NATIONAL AFFLICTION, by Hon. William J. Bryan.—An Attack Upon the Whole People—No Man Dieth Unto Himself—Government a Necessity—Mr. McKinley's Influence as a Statesman—The Best Things in Life Are Above Politics 257

XXVI. THE ASSASSIN.—Czolgosz's Confession—The Trial—A Memorable Speech—Conviction—Sentenced to Death.... 261

XXVII. LESSONS OF THE TRAGEDY, by David Starr Jordan, President Leland Stanford, Jr., University..... 267

XXVIII. THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN.—Danger Days for the Republic—Effects of War Upon the Public Conscience—Thin Line of Separation Between Civilization and Savagery—Great Sorrow in the South—Expression of Grief by Jefferson Davis—Lincoln is Warned of His Fate in a Dream—The Deed of the Assassin—Death of

PAGE

Booth and Execution of His Co-Conspirators—Secret Disposition of Booth's Remains—Beecher's Oration on Lincoln 273

XXIX. THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD.—Use of the Pistol in the Assassination of Presidents—Why Is the Rifle not Preferred?—Certain Capture Awaits the Criminal—Every Man's Hand Against Assassins—Murder Personified—The Shooting of Garfield—His Brave Battle with Death—The Trial of Guiteau—His Execution and the Disposition of His Remains—Blaine's Oration on Garfield..... 279

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

XXX. OUR HERO PRESIDENT.—Dauntless Rulers of History—Great Events Bring Forth Men to Meet Them—The Gloom and Anguish of Our Nation—The Accession of Roosevelt Restores Confidence—How Greatness Masks Itself—Roosevelt's Napoleonic Traits—His Important Literary Productions—His Political Epigrams—His Birth and Ancestry—The Allotment Commission—Sterling Character of the Elder Roosevelt—Theodore as a Boy—His College Life—Climbing the Peaks of Switzerland—His Career as an Author 303

XXXI. ROOSEVELT'S ENTRY INTO POLITICS.—Attends His First Primary—Elected to the New York Assembly—A Knock-Down Fighter—How He Fought Corruption—Great Savings Effected to the State—Delegate to the National Convention—Enters the Campaign—Life on the Frontier—His Ranch in Dakota—He Subdues a Desperado—Career as a Civil Service Commissioner—Police Commissioner of New York—Assistant Secretary of the Navy—Organizes a Regiment of Rough Riders—Off for the War—Seizes a Train—The Invasion of Cuba—In the Thick of Action—In the Bloody Angle on San Juan Hill—His Magnanimity and Patriotism—How He Entertained His Cowboy Comrades—A Hero in the Eyes of All Men 313

XXXII. ROOSEVELT SUCCEEDS TO THE PRESIDENCY.—His Grief Over the Nation's Bereavement—Optimistic and Ever Hopeful—How He Received the Tidings of the President's Death—His Wild Ride Through Stygian Darkness of the

PAGE

Adirondack Forest—He Takes the Oath of Office as President—Pledges Himself in a Memorable Utterance —Retention of McKinley's Cabinet—All Fear of a Threatened Panic Averted—The Domestic Life of Roosevelt—Fireside Affection—Mrs. Roosevelt a Noble Helpmate—Ladies of the White House..... 322

ROOSEVELT THE MAN AND THE EXECUTIVE.—His Marvelously Active Mind—Physical Culture That Overcame His Deficiencies of Body—Impulsiveness Prompted by Intuition—His Resemblance to Andrew Jackson—The Elements That Make Him Truly Great—Love of Wife and Home 327

ROOSEVELT AS A SOLDIER.—How He Earned His Title— —The Blood of North and South in His Veins—His Enlistment in the Army—Composition of His Regiment of Rough Riders—The Fierce Charge up San Juan Hill—A Mighty Stimulation to American Soldiers—Promotion and Subsequent Services—Devotion to His Men 330

ANARCHY.

BANNER OF THE RED TERROR.—The World Savage, and the World Civilized—Mobocracy in the French Revolution—History Shows Us the Effects of Anarchy—What the Abrogation of All Laws Signifies—What Is Anarchy?—Theory of Hegel and Proudhon—Schools of Anarchy—Contentions of Socialists—Differences Between Socialism and Anarchism—Picture Drawn by Ideal Socialism—The License to Prey and to Slay —Why Anarchy Cannot Prevail—Instructive Examples— A Popular Fallacy—Tyranny and Limited Monarchy—The Uselessness of Assassination—Torture Does not Change Men's Convictions—Assassination Is Purposeless Vengeance —Murder of Rulers the Past Twenty Years—Good Men Made Victims, While Tyrants Escape—The Very Cap-Sheaf of Crime—Human Freedom Wounded by Madness—The Awe That a King Inspires—The Superstition of Divine Right of Kings—Some Very Striking Examples—Familiarity Breeds Contempt—Wherein Lies a Ruler's Influence— Dangers That Follow Familiarity—American Politics Hurtful to Self-Respect—Can We Wonder That Presidents are Assassinated?—How We May Protect Our Presidents—Swift Enforcement of Law 337

PAGE

OUR COLONIES.

HOW ACQUIRED AND THE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.—The Cry of "America for Americans"—Necessity of Acquisitions of Territory—Story of Our Annexations—The Louisiana and Florida Purchases—The Retrocession of Louisiana—Jefferson Condemned by Federalists—War with the Seminoles—The Acquisition of Texas—War with Mexico—The Gadsden Treaty—Purchase of Alaska—Our Pacific Ocean Colonies—Opposition of the Anti-Imperialists—Government of Our Island Possessions—Constitutional Questions Involved—Dangers of Free Trade Being Forced Upon the Country—A Question as to Hawaiian Rights—Two Horns of a Dilemma 350

THE INCOME TAX.

PROMISE OF A PARTY DEMAND FOR AN INCOME TAX.—The Policy of Reciprocity a Vital Issue—Free Trade a Natural Sequence of Reciprocity—How Shall Revenue Be Raised?—The Income Tax as a War Measure—The Law Sustained by Supreme Court Decision—The Wilson Bill Income Tax Law—The Supreme Court Reverses Itself—Popular Dissatisfaction..... 357

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

FORMATION OF THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE—Threatened Interference of Foreign Powers with South American Governments—England Is First to Sound a Note of Warning—Urges the United States to Resist—Enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine—What It Signifies—How the Doctrine Has Been Maintained—Enforced Twice Against England—The Doctrine Affected by Our Colonial Policy—An Issue Threatens..... 360

RECIPROCITY—WHAT IT MEANS AND PROMISES.

A HISTORY OF RECIPROCITY LEGISLATION—Blaine's Efforts for a Free Exchange of Trade Between the Americas—Reciprocity Treaties Now in Force—The Opposition of Protectionists—McKinley's Recommendations—Roosevelt's Policy—A Change in Our Laws Respecting Foreign Trade Is Now Demanded—American Goods Competing Successfully in All the Marts of the World.....

PAGE

THE TRUST QUESTION.

ONE OF THE MOST COMPLEX QUESTIONS NOW IN ISSUE—What Constitutes a Trust—The Principle and How It Works—How Shall We Repress the Trust—A Difficulty Which Is Beyond Easy Amendment—Some Examples in Point—The Pursuit of Riches Ruinous to Our Social and National Well-Being—Who Shall Conceive a Remedy?..... 367

THE PROPOSED ISTHMIAN CANAL.

A HISTORY OF ISTHMIAN CANAL LEGISLATION.—Companies Organized and Work Done—Conviction of De Lesseps on Charges of Fraud—The Columbian Concession—The Proposed Nicaraguan Canal—The Work Well Begun—A Government Guarantee Asked For—Appointment of and Reports of Commission—the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty Proves to Be an Obstacle—How the Proposition of a Canal Originated—Great Britain's Claims to the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua—Request for a Joint Protectorate Leads to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty—The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty—Amendment of the Treaty as Drawn Displeasing to England—Denial of Our Right to Fortify or Defend the Canal—The Treaty Expires by Limitation 370

GREAT QUESTIONS BY GREAT STATESMEN..... 375

THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY, by President McKinley..... 377

THE OPEN DOOR TO TRADE IN CHINA, by Honorable John Hay 381

TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES, by Honorable William J. Bryan.. 385

OUR CURRENCY AND BUSINESS NEEDS, by Honorable Lyman J. Gage 402

OUR NEED OF A MERCHANT MARINE, by Honorable George F. Edmunds 411

AN INTEROCEANIC CANAL, by Honorable William P. Hepburn 418

THE NATIONAL CABINET 431

MEN OF NATIONAL MARK 443

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES 457

SENATORS AND MEMBERS OF THE FIFTY-SIXTH CONGRESS 460-544

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

House at Niles, Ohio, in Which the Late President McKinley Was Born 33
McKinley at Different Ages 34
President McKinley's Favorite Portrait, specially authorized for "McKinley and Men of Our Times." 35
Interior View of Hiram Lodge A. F. and A. M., Winchester, Va. 36
Interior View of Hiram Lodge A. F. and A. M. 37
Late Portrait of Mrs. McKinley 38
McKinley at the Polls, Canton 39
Scene at McKinley's Home the Day of Election 40
Crowds Before the Presidential Election Bulletins 41
President McKinley Delivering His Eloquent Response to the Committee of Notification on the Porch of His Residence at Canton, Ohio 42
President McKinley and His Second Cabinet 43
President McKinley in the War Room, Washington 44
The President and Mrs. McKinley 45
The Last Photograph Taken at the Request of President McKinley 46
The Last Photograph Taken of President and Mrs. McKinley, During the Buffalo Visit 47
President McKinley Reviewing 45,000 School Children in San Francisco 48
The Last Public Utterance of the President Before the Shooting, at the Pan-American Exposition 49
Shooting of McKinley 50
The Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition, Where President McKinley Was Shot 51
Exact Spot Where the President Was Shot 52
Ambulance in Which the Wounded President Was Taken from the Temple of Music 53
Soldiers and Correspondent Tent Opposite the Milburn House, Buffalo 54
The Dying President's Parting Words to His Wife—"Good-bye All! It Is God's Way! His Will Be Done" 55
Removal of the Body from Milburn House 56
Carrying the Casket from the Milburn House to the Hearse 57
Centenary Methodist Church, Richmond, Va. 58
Funeral Procession Leaving Milburn House, Buffalo 59
Transferring the Flower-Covered Casket to the Hearse for the Journey to the City Hall 60
A Quarter of a Million Men, Women and Children Waiting to Enter the City Hall, Buffalo 61
View of the Former Capitol of the Confederate States, Draped 62
The Trained Nurses Who Attended the President 63

PAGE

President Roosevelt with Senator Hanna, Leaving Milburn House.. 64
The Funeral Train Drawing into the Station at Harrisburg..... 65
Removing the Body from the City Hall, Buffalo..... 65
Carrying the President's Body into the Capitol..... 66
Scene about the Capitol, Washington, While the Body Lay in State. 66
The Remains of President McKinley Being Borne Down Pennsylvania Avenue, in Washington 67
Crowds in Front of the Capitol in Washington Honoring the Remains of President McKinley..... 68
The Interior of the Capitol at Washington, Where the Body of President McKinley Lay in State 69
Carrying the Body into the Court House at Canton 70
The President's Casket 70
Procession Passing into the Court House, Canton, to View the Remains 71
President Roosevelt's Last Look at the Dead President McKinley.. 72
Funeral Party Leaving the Train, Canton, President Roosevelt in Front 73
Removing the Body from the Train, Canton 74
Placing the Casket in the Hearse, Canton 75
The Bier, in the Capitol, at Washington 75
Scene about the Court House, Canton, While the Body Was Lying in State 76
The Church at Canton, Where the Final Funeral Ceremonies Were Held 77
Centenary Methodist Church, Richmond, Va., Where the First Prayer Service for His Recovery Was Held After McKinley Was Shot 78
Placing the Body in the Vault, Canton..... 79
McKinley Home at Canton 80
The Shooting of President Lincoln 285
Shooting of J. Wilkes Booth 286
The Shooting of President Garfield 287
The Closing of the Career of James G. Blaine 288
Last View of the Remains of President Garfield 289
President Theodore Roosevelt 290
McKinley and Roosevelt, Just Before the Election of 1900..... 291
President Roosevelt and Family 292
Roosevelt Issuing a Field Order, Cuba 292
Colonel Roosevelt in the Field, Cuba 293
The Charge Up San Juan Hill 294
The Wilcox Home in Which President Roosevelt Was Sworn In..... 295
White House, Washington, D. C..... 296
Important Incidents in the Life of James G. Blaine 297
Transports Conveying the Army of Invasion to Cuba 298
The Fight on San Juan Hill 299
The Blowing Up of the "Merrimac"..... 300

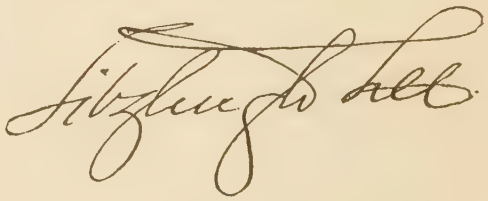
THE WORLD SHOULD KNOW.

In the memorable words of Garfield, that soothed the wild passions of a vengeful gathering in New York the night after Lincoln's assassination, "God reigns and the government at Washington still lives." And his words may again be as fitly spoken when we contemplate the hellish deed of the disguised hand of anarchy that destroyed a life so noble, so useful, so kindly and so charitable; that murdered without provocation, that killed without cause, that slaughtered without gain to even any odious principle, our country's President, the universally beloved McKinley. In this hour of bitter anguish let us remember and take to our hearts with all possible consolement the anodyne of scriptural promise which Garfield quoted with such effectiveness: "Clouds and darkness are around Him; His Pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds; Justice and Judgment are the establishment of His Throne; Mercy and Truth shall go before His face."

Our sorrow breathes of a national calamity, and we shall not forget the virtues, the capacity, the talents, the acts of our fallen magistrate; but our grief shall not make us mindless of the mighty tasks of government which lie immediately before the administration, nor the loyalty which we owe the new President. The questions of the hour are serious, and they are many. Confidence is begotten by the pledge of President Roosevelt that the policies proclaimed and pursued by the lamented McKinley

shall be *his* policies; that his purpose will be not to pervert, but to perfect; and may these exalted aims, as they appear consistent with our individual sense of right and justice, be promoted by the patriotic aid, the loyal devotion, the unfaltering service of every American. This book I believe will have an influence for infinite good in its teachings for better citizenship, in its exposition of the crimes of anarchy, in its elucidation, by graphic statement and elaborate comment, of the weighty questions that press hard upon the nation for prompt settlement according to the principles of strict equity and the highest good.

In the day of our lamentation we cannot fail to feel that, however great, and good, and worthy to be apotheosized any man may be, his death cannot imperil the life nor stay the lofty destiny of this Republic; that the God of our fathers who established it is the God of the children who will sustain and strengthen it. Therefore, let us take courage to continue in our national well-doing; let us cover with monument enwreathed with palm and immortelles the grave of our stricken President, but push on with prayer and resolution, confounding the enemies of good government by patriotic attachment to our institutions and its lawfully chosen representatives.



William McKinley

A THOUGHTFUL, CAREFULLY DRAWN PORTRAIT OF OUR MARTYRED PRESIDENT, PRESENTING HIM AS HE APPEARED TO THOSE WHO KNEW HIM BEST THROUGHOUT HIS LIFE AND IN ALL THE RELATIONS OF LIFE: THE SOLDIER, THE STATESMAN, THE PRESIDENT, THE MAN : : : : : : : : : : ;

"*Washington* lives in the hearts and lives of his countrymen. *Lincoln*, with his infinite humor and his sorrow, lives to teach us and lead us on, and *William McKinley* shall summon all the statesmen and all his countrymen to purer living, nobler aims, a sweeter fame and eternal blessedness."

HOUSE AT NILES, OHIO, IN WHICH THE LATE PRESIDENT MCKINLEY WAS BORN.

MCKINLEY AT DIFFERENT AGES.

Copyrighted by Clinedinst, Washington

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S FAVORITE PORTRAIT, SPECIALLY AUTHORIZED FOR "MCKINLEY AND MEN OF OUR TIMES."

INTERIOR VIEW OF HIRAM LODGE, A. F. AND A. M., WINCHESTER, VA., SHOWING THE ROOM DECORATIONS AND SYMBOLIC PAINTINGS ON THE WALLS.

The altar, in the foreground, is an exquisite piece of lodge furniture, and the ceiling frescoes are rich examples of superb conception and artistic execution. On the wall, to the right, are personifications of the four virtues, Justice, Truth, Law and Mercy. The mural portrait is of General Lafayette in full regalia, and to the left is a representation of the porch of the Temple of Solomon, in front of which is the dais and chair of the Past Master.

INTERIOR VIEW OF HIRAM LODGE, WINCHESTER, VA., IN WHICH PRESIDENT MCKINLEY WAS MADE AN ENTERED APPRENTICE MASON IN 1864.

In a panel near the centre view is a full-length portrait of the immortal Washington, clothed in full regalia. Of the many who were present upon the occasion of this historic initiation only two are now living, viz: William R. Denny, of Nashville, Tenn., and George E. Jenkins, of Winchester.

Photograph by Clinedinst, Washington.

LATE PORTRAIT OF MRS. MCKINLEY.

MCKINLEY AT THE POLLS, CANTON.

SCENE AT MCKINLEY'S HOME THE DAY OF ELECTION.

CROWDS BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BULLETINS. 41

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PRESIDENT MCKINLEY DELIVERING HIS ELOQUENT RESPONSE TO THE COMMITTEE OF NOTIFICATION ON THE PORCH OF HIS RESIDENCE, AT CANTON, OHIO.

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PRESIDENT McKINLEY AND HIS SECOND CABINET.

Copyrighted, 1900.

Composition by J. H. Harper.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY IN THE WAR ROOM, WASHINGTON.

Photograph by Clinedinst, Washington.

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. MCKINLEY.

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Photographed by L. R. Dunn.

THE LAST PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT THE REQUEST OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

This photograph was taken at the special request of the President at 1 o'clock on Friday, with Secretary Wilson and Mr. Milburn. He stood looking at Niagara Falls. Three hours later he was shot. Behind the President stands Secret Service Agent Foster, who seized the assassin after the shooting.

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THE LAST PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN OF PRESIDENT AND MRS. McKINLEY, DURING THE BUFFALO VISIT.

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PRESIDENT McKINLEY WITH GOVERNORS GAGE AND NASH (THE LATTER SALUTING) REVIEWING 45,000 SCHOOL CHILDREN IN SAN FRANCISCO.

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THE LAST PUBLIC UTTERANCE OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE SHOOTING, AT THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

SHOOTING OF McKINLEY.

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Photographed by L. R. Dunn.

THE TEMPLE OF MUSIC AT THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION, WHERE PRESIDENT MCKINLEY WAS SHOT.
The President was receiving the public. Over 3000 people were present in this beautiful building.

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WHERE THE PRESIDENT WAS SHOT. (SEE CROSS.)

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AMBULANCE IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT WAS TAKEN FROM THE TEMPLE OF MUSIC.

SOLDIERS' AND CORRESPONDENTS' TENT OPPOSITE THE MILBURN HOUSE, BUFFALO.

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THE DYING PRESIDENT'S PARTING WORDS TO HIS WIFE—"GOOD-BYE ALL! IT IS GOD'S WAY! HIS WILL BE DONE."

REMOVAL OF THE BODY FROM MILBURN HOUSE.

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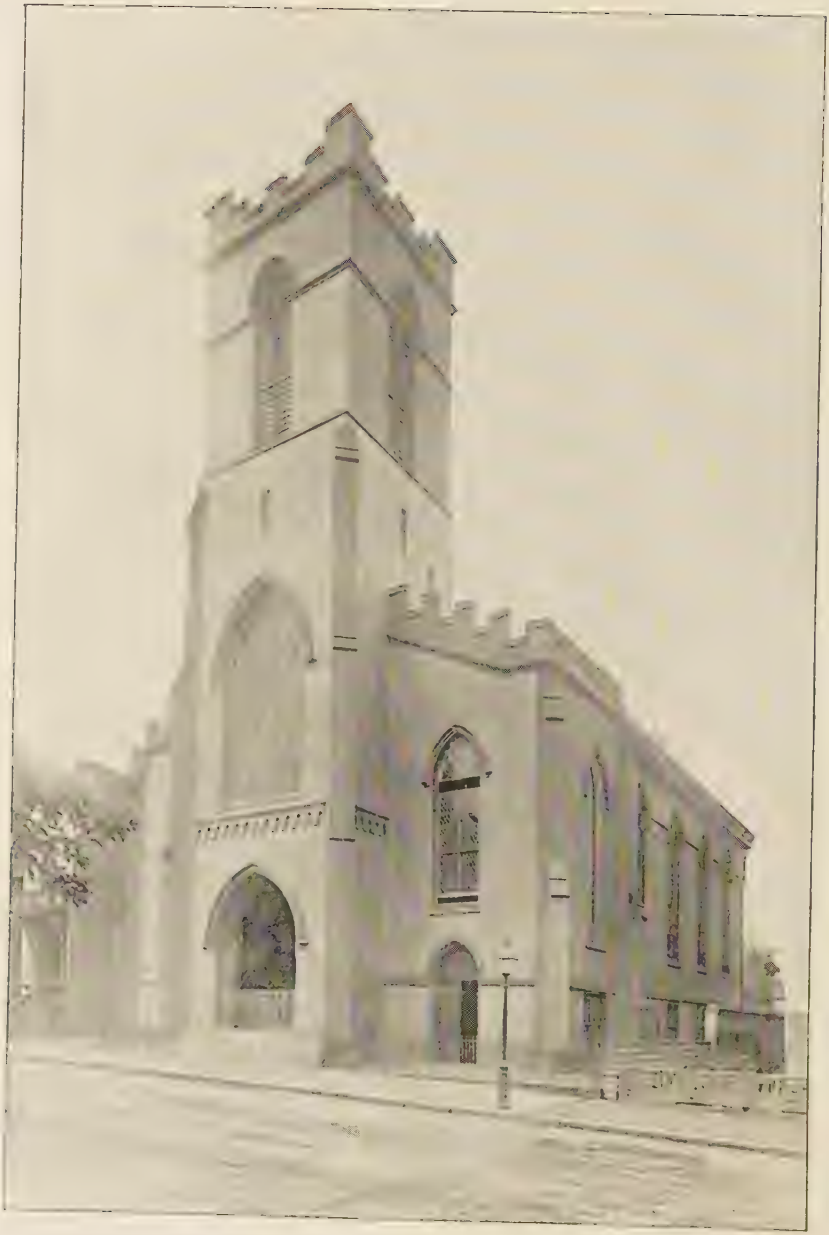
Photographed by L. R. Dunn.

CARRYING THE CASKET FROM THE MILBURN HOUSE TO THE HEARSE.



CENTENARY METHODIST CHURCH, RICHMOND, VA., WHERE THE FIRST SERVICE WAS HELD AFTER MCKINLEY WAS SHOT.

FUNERAL PROCESSION LEAVING MILBURN HOUSE, BUFFALO.

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TRANSFERRING THE FLOWER COVERED CASKET TO THE HEARSE FOR THE JOURNEY TO THE CITY HALL.

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A QUARTER OF A MILLION MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WAITING TO ENTER THE CITY HALL, BUFFALO.

VIEW OF THE FORMER CAPITOL OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, RICHMOND, VA.,

Showing the draped columns, as a mark of profound grief felt in the South for President McKinley's death. In this awful bereavement a reunited country lifts up in unison a voice of lamentation, mourning a loss that all the world deplores.

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THE TRAINED NURSES WHO ATTENDED THE PRESIDENT, MISS SIMMONS AND MISS BARNES.

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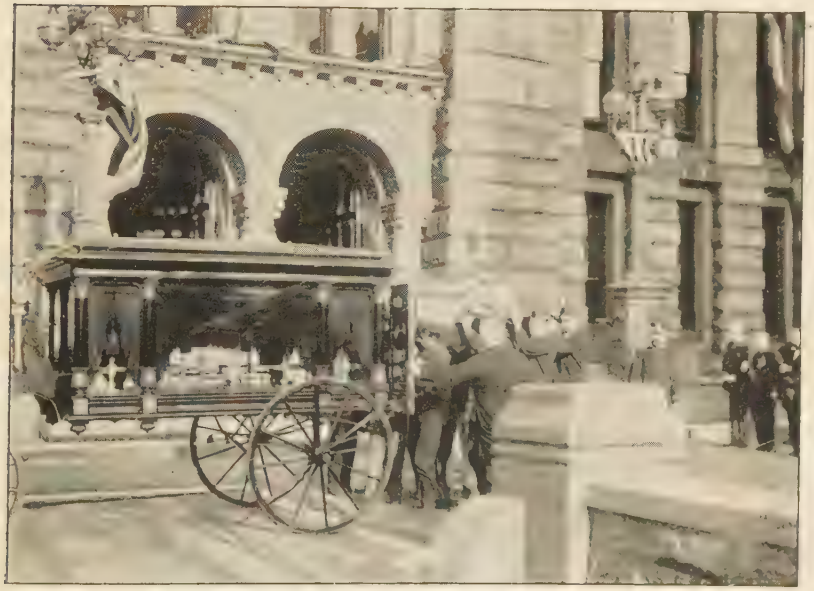
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT CONFERRING WITH SENATOR HANNA, LEAVING MILBURN HOUSE.

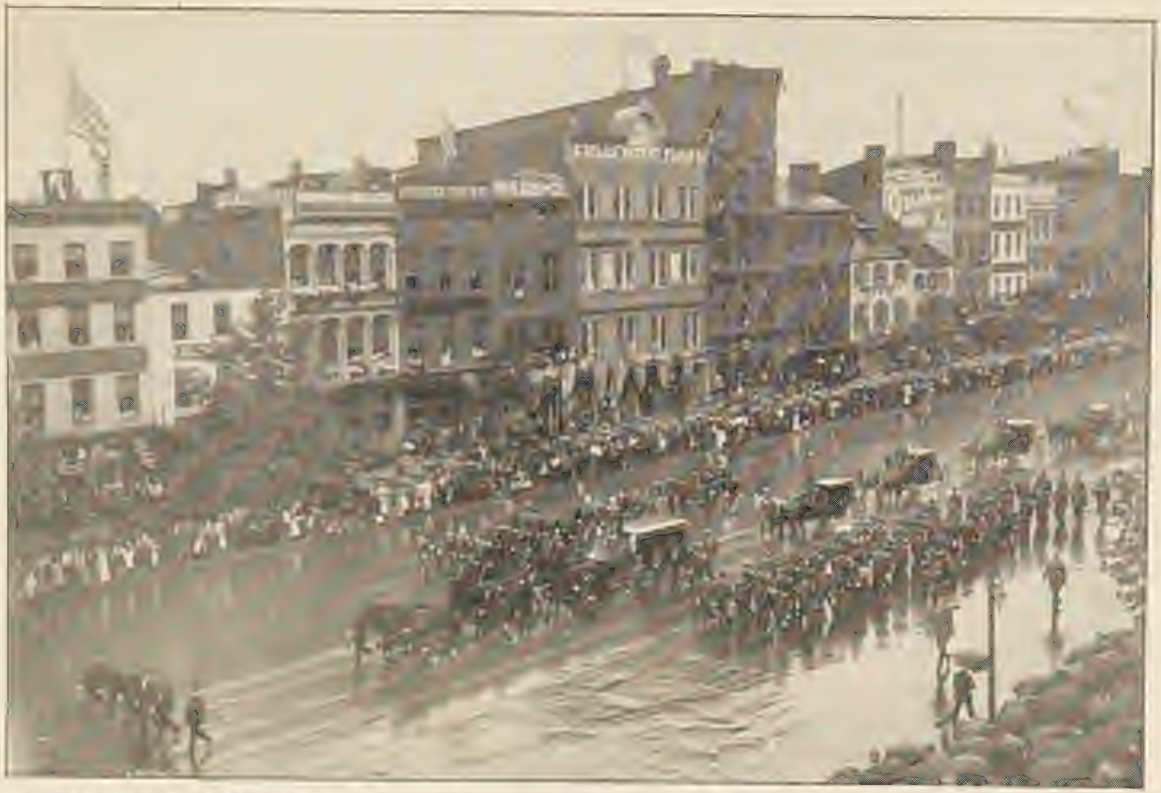
THE FUNERAL TRAIN DRAWING INTO THE STATION AT HARRISBURG.



REMOVING THE BODY FROM THE CITY HALL, BUFFALO.

CARRYING THE PRESIDENT'S BODY INTO THE CAPITOL.

SCENE ABOUT THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, WHILE THE BODY LAY IN STATE.



THE REMAINS OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY BEING BORNE DOWN PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE IN WASHINGTON.

CROWDS IN FRONT OF THE CAPITOL IN WASHINGTON HONORING THE REMAINS OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

THE INTERIOR OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON WHERE THE BODY OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY LAY IN STATE.

CARRYING THE BODY INTO THE COURT HOUSE AT CANTON.

THE PRESIDENT'S CASKET.

PROCESSION PASSING INTO THE COURT HOUSE, CANTON, TO VIEW THE REMAINS.

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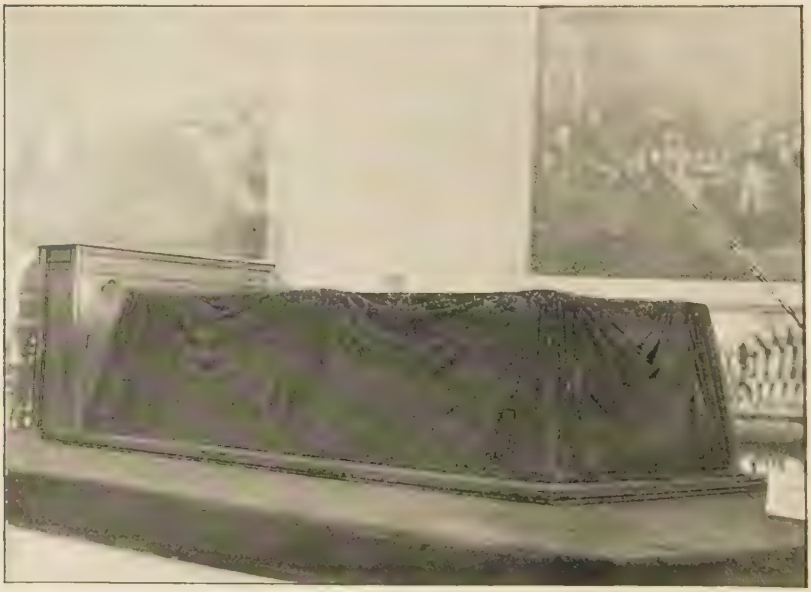
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S LAST LOOK AT THE DEAD PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

FUNERAL PARTY LEAVING THE TRAIN, CANTON, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN FRONT.

REMOVING THE BODY FROM THE TRAIN, CANTON.



THE BIER, IN THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

PLACING THE CASKET IN THE HEARSE, CANTON

SCENE ABOUT THE COURT HOUSE, CANTON, WHILE THE BODY WAS LYING IN STATE.

THE CHURCH AT CANTON, WHERE THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES WERE HELD

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McKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT, PHOTOGRAPHED JUST BEFORE THE ELECTION OF 1900, SHOWING THE TWO CANDIDATES IN THEIR MOST NATURAL ATTITUDES.

PLACING THE BODY IN THE VAULT, CANTON.

MCKINLEY HOME AT CANTON.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

I.

AS WE KNEW HIM.

A week has passed since he was taken from us and it is still difficult—even to those who never saw him—to speak of him without tears. I am not sure but that in this simple fact one may find the secret of his strength. Certainly no other man of our times and no other President of any time, enjoyed so completely the affections of the people. There was a charm about him which those who opposed him most bitterly could not resist. You did not have to agree with him to like him, you liked him whether or no. So sure was he to win those with whom he came in contact that his political enemies dreaded nothing so much as his amiability. He always had an abundant supply of the milk of human kindness and it never soured. With all the iron that was in his will, there was no trace of sternness in his nature. He made men feel his love for them, and they could not but respond to his affection. He made us understand that he trusted us and we could not but trust him. My heart is chilled anew as I write these words and remember that he whose ambition was to be written down as one who trusted his fellowmen is dead to-day because he trusted us—because he stretched out his hand to one whom he mistook for one of us.

William McKinley Was One of Us.—He felt it and he made us feel it. In few men that I have ever known has the sense of human brotherhood been so clearly developed. He was our brother—not only our President, but one of our own flesh and blood—one who

loved to honor us, one who even looked up to us and loved to boast of us as a boy would boast of his bigger brother.

Whatever else may be said of him, it is because of his love for us that he will live in our hearts, not as our leader merely, but as the brother of the people. For in his love for us he was greater, far greater as William McKinley the man, than he could have been as William McKinley the President.

Surely there is no greater thing to be said of a man than that he was a brother of his fellowmen.

Love for Wife and Mother.—What he was in the greatness of his love to his countrymen, he was in a larger degree to that narrow circle of those to whom he was personally attached, and in a still larger degree to that narrowest and most sacred circle which embraced his wife and mother. There are men who lavish such a wealth of affection upon the world at large that they have none left for their own hearthstones. William McKinley's love began at home. There is not a more beautiful idyl in all of our American history than the story of the love which he cherished for his invalid wife and his aged mother. Certainly the social life of our country never had a more inspiring example of domestic life than that which has been exhibited by him since he came into the public eye. As one has said, "Anyone who has met him at the White House or on his tours through the country in which he was always accompanied by his wife, must have been impressed by the fact that no plaudits accorded him, nor honors paid him, no eloquent toasts proposed to him ever brought the same joyous smile to his face as did the appearance of his little wife in any assembly when he got sight of her pale, sweet face. No affairs of state, no public functions, no incident however grave the import has kept him from her when her gentle voice called for him." No other man of our day has so beautifully exemplified in his daily life his belief in those principles which make the relations of man and wife so sacred. The world will not soon forget the picture of this man

who could lay down the heaviest, the most taxing burdens of the day, however urgent the business, to spend an hour of sacred communion with his aged mother.

The Old, Old Story.—The affection of Mr. McKinley for his wife was something which the world will never be able to fully appreciate. It has been said that there were times when she was kept alive largely by the influence which he had over her. If he said she would recover she would hold on to life and recover. "There is something here that is as old as the hills, but that never fails to seem new and fine because it shows a little of the beautiful and the true side of humanity."

His Affection for Little Children.—Naturally this man who had no children of his own outside of heaven had a very tender place in his heart for the little ones, and very naturally the little ones knew it. Everywhere he went they crowded around him. An Alabama editor tells a story of a visit of his Press Association to the White House in the early summer of 1898. The secretary of the association acted as master of ceremonies and announced each name. In the party were Mr. and Mrs. Grubbs, of Decatur, and two little girls. "When Marianne, the older of the children, advanced toward the President she became suddenly shy and did not at once take the proffered hand of His Excellency. Some one said, 'Shake hands with the President,' and as she did so the nation's chief caught her in his arms, at the same time saying, 'I have something for you, Marianne.' The President then took the boutonnière from the lapel of his coat and gave it to the child with his compliments." The act was as graceful as it was unexpected and gave to the assembly a beautiful glimpse of the tender side of the great man's heart.

I am reminded of a remark which Dr. Hill, the Assistant Secretary of State, once made to a friend when Mr. McKinley's personality was under discussion:

"If the Lord ever breathed the breath of life into a more gracious and amiable man than Mr. McKinley," he said, "I have yet to find it out."

Care for the Old Soldiers.—In speaking of the affection of the President for the old soldiers, Mr. Al. G. Field, the actor, who knew him intimately, said:

"We had an old soldier named W. C. Redford, in Columbus, who was a superintendent of the Baltimore and Ohio for forty years. When the road was reorganized he was let out of his position. He tried hard to get work but always failed. He had friends among the Elks who did everything they could for him, but they couldn't get him a place. It was suggested they should apply directly to the President. Some said it would be no use, as the letter would never get past the secretary's pigeon-hole. We wrote to McKinley, and in a few days we received a reply and an appointment for the old soldier in the Quartermaster's Department in Porto Rico, with an assignment to San Juan. After some time the old fellow was superannuated by the Civil Service, and was out of a position for two months. The same people went to work for him again in the same way, and only last Saturday in Asheville I received a notification from the President that it would take a month or so to straighten matters out with the department at San Juan, but that when he returned to Washington, he would see that the old man got an appointment as Quartermaster at San Antonio, Tex.

"If he never gets back," added Mr. Field, "poor old Bill will be left out in the cold."

His High Sense of Honor.—His spirit was as remarkable for its nobility as for its amiability. He was the soul of honor. Twice he put away from him the nomination for the presidency because he could not sit still and allow himself to be voted for while he was pledged to another. The story of the beginning of the intimacy between him and Mark Hanna furnishes a striking illustration of this virtue.

A Case in Point.—In the National Republican Convention held in Chicago in 1884 the party was divided in its allegiance to several different candidates. In consequence when the Convention

opened everybody was in the dark and there was nothing but uncertainty and confusion. Even the Ohio delegation which might have been expected to work together had been split and the members of the several factions were almost continually in secret conferences. In one of these factions was Hanna, then unknown. In another was William McKinley. It was Hanna's first experience in national politics and he was indefatigable in his efforts in behalf of his candidate. On the night before the Convention opened, he went to the hotel where the Ohio delegation was quartered. The place was crowded and many of the guests were sleeping on cots, four or more in a room. Hanna wanted to see a certain friend, and learning the number of his room went directly to it. In the dim light he approached what he thought was his friend's cot and began unfolding his plan of action for the following day. The man listened quietly for a few moments, and then suddenly put out his hand. "Excuse me," he said, "but I think you are mistaken in your man. I am William McKinley of Stark County." Hanna was overwhelmed with confusion and beat a quick retreat. He had exposed his plans to a man whom he knew to belong to an opposing faction. As may well be imagined, he went into the Convention the next day with many misgivings. But he did not know his man. The secrets he had unfolded became at once a sealed book and McKinley never once mentioned the matter even to his friends. Hanna was so touched by this exhibition of scrupulous honor that he at once began to cultivate McKinley's friendship and they soon became bound together as with hooks of steel. It will be remembered that it was Hanna who pressed McKinley for the presidency.

Above Envy.—This high virtue enabled Mr. McKinley to rise above those petty exhibitions of envy and revenge which have obscured so many otherwise eminent lives. He could always hold a tight rein upon himself, whatever the provocation might be. As has been often said, if he ever had any feelings of injured dignity or ill-temper no one

ever discovered it. He seems never to have been offended even at those who most bitterly criticised him. If we may believe the newspapers, Senator Tillman, who declared one day that the President was gradually becoming a dictator to the subversion of the old republic, the very next day went to the White House to ask for a small Consulship for one of his constituents—and got it. He would abuse the President as a politician, but he did not hesitate to say that in his opinion no finer gentleman from George Washington's time ever occupied the presidential chair.

Making Others' Wishes His Own.—It was remarkable how readily the President could enter into the wishes of those who came to him for help, utterly regardless of their feelings toward him or toward his policies. In the organization of the first Philippine commission, one of the men who had been provisionally selected hastened to the White House and told Mr. McKinley that he was not in favor of the expansion policy and that he felt that Mr. McKinley ought to know it and have an opportunity to appoint someone else. "Quite the contrary," said the President; "we need just the element of your opinion on that commission which you represent. I am glad that you feel as you do about it." Another man whom Mr. McKinley was about to appoint to an important office went to express to the President his regret that he could not favor his policy of protection. Mr. McKinley replied simply that the view of the case which he held was the very one which he desired to have represented, and insisted on making the appointment.

Cherished No Ill-Feelings.—A gentleman who was a Congressional Committee clerk some years ago relates that when Mr. McKinley was an obscure member of the House of Representatives, the partisan "Democratic majority made him no member at all by turning him out in a contest. After the declaration of votes was announced Mr. McKinley at once took his papers from his desk and left the House. Although I was a Democrat and a youngster I was extremely sorry

that the House took such action, believing it to be unfair, and having a personal liking for Mr. McKinley, and when he came out into the western lobby of the House I approached him and said:

"'I am very sorry, sir.'

"'Never mind, my boy, it will come out right in the end,' he said in simple faith."

Incarnation of Courtesy.—The ex-clerk said that what impressed him most about Mr. McKinley, in those days, was his simple, boyish directness and good nature. In his relations with committee clerks and other obscure men he was the incarnation of courtesy, "which" he added "was in powerful contrast to the rudeness so prevalent in Washington."

True Courage.—People whose only idea of strength was noisy self-assertion insisted that Mr. McKinley was timid, yet those who knew him best believe that there was no man more truly courageous, for he could face danger when he knew the greatness of the peril, and he could wait and suffer long in order to be sure that he was right, when all the world was howling at him to go on.

A Devout Christian.—It seems very natural, after what has been said, to add that Mr. McKinley was a Christian of the bravest and most devoted type. His pastor recalls that when he settled in Canton, one of the first things he did was to call on the minister of his church, present his church credentials and ask to be assigned to duty. He did not want to be a nominal church member. He was given a Bible class and later was elected Sunday School superintendent. One could be sure that he would be found in his pew, if it was possible for him to be there. He was a Christian of the stalwart type. He believed in the old-fashioned doctrines and the old-fashioned way. "What he was to his country and her institutions, believing in them and giving his best power to them, so he was to his church and her institutions, giving her his unhesitating and unqualified adherence The expression of his religious experience was of a very modest kind.

It was seen in the purity of his life, in his freedom from fault-finding, in the cheerfulness which remained with him under all circumstances, in his love which took in all the world and in his devotion to the teachings of his Lord. Surely the acts and words of this man in his last hours—in those hours in which a man does not play for the applause of the galleries—will live as the greatest monument to the truth of Christianity which this new century has yet produced.

The Measure of a Great Man.—It is too soon to attempt to get at the depth or breadth of William McKinley's influence, or to form an adequate conception of his character. As I have said elsewhere, a small man may be measured in a day, a great man may not be measured for a generation. We cannot attempt to get a full-length portrait of a man whose life is bound up with the life of an epoch, as McKinley's was, until sufficient time has elapsed to get a full-length view of the epoch itself. Certain it is, however, that when the mourning over our loss has subsided and the world shall come to pass an estimate upon his life without emotion it will be pronounced the life of one who was truly great because he was truly good. For the present it is enough for us to contemplate the example of this beautiful and kindly life, which by the grace of God was enabled, as we have all been saying, to face even so sudden a fate as his with a noble fortitude in those memorable words in his last agony, "Good-bye, all good-bye; it is God's way. His will, not ours be done."

II.

A GOOD BEGINNING.

William McKinley came of a long line of brawny ancestors, who were remarkable for industry, frugality, strength of intellect, and a sturdy religious faith.

The McKinleys.—James McKinley, the founder of the northern branch of the McKinley family in America, came to this country from the north of Ireland about the middle of the eighteenth century. He was a fine, promising Scotch-Irish lad of about twelve years. His son, David McKinley, served in the Revolutionary War, enlisting at twenty-one. David's second son, James, married Mary Rose, who was of English stock. The second son of James was William, the father of the subject of this biography. On his father's side his people were Covenanters—the race that feared neither man nor devil. On his mother's side his people were Puritans, who loved liberty next to their God. William McKinley moved to New Lisbon, Ohio, where he was married to Nancy Campbell Allison. The Allisons were excellent Scotch-English people, who came from England to Virginia, and then emigrated to Pennsylvania, finally settling in Ohio. Nine children resulted from this union, the seventh of whom was William McKinley, Jr., who was born in Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843.

Well Born.—No boy was ever better born, though he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. While his family belonged to the highest aristocracy of character, they possessed little of this world's goods, and ranked in their neighborhood as plain, ordinary livers. The McKinleys had never pursued the callings which attract the dollars. William McKinley, Sr., was an iron puddler, while his father and grandfather were carpenters. The village around the McKinleys

was largely built by members of the family, while many houses through the country are their handiwork.

If young William did not early feel the pinch of poverty very seriously, he yet grew up under very narrow circumstances. The story of his boyhood is much like the story of the average boy of stout heart and with an inheritance of an abundance of good blood.

"A Good Boy."—Mrs. McKinley used to say that while William was not a very good baby, because he cried a great deal, he steadily improved with time, and as a boy was all that a mother could desire. He was a genuine boy, too, with all the animal spirits that a boy could take care of; but his exuberance gave his mother no trouble for the reason that it was never so great as the love he lavished upon her. He was fond of every youthful sport, and excelled in them all. There was not a boy in the neighborhood who could beat him at marbles, none who could approach him in the use of the bow and arrow, and he was an excellent swimmer. His favorite diversion was kite-flying. "It seems to me," said his mother, "I never went into the kitchen without seeing a paste-pot or a ball of string waiting to be made into a kite." As fond as he was of sports, however, he would often spend whole days in the house when other boys were at play, simply because he preferred the companionship of his mother and sisters. His affectionate nature made him popular with his playmates and won for him many a word of high praise from his teacher. It smoothed the way for him then as it so often did in his public life. Another of the saving graces which exhibited itself in early boyhood was his wonderful patience.

A Playmate's Testimony.—"I declare," said Joe Fisher, the village constable of Niles, the other day, "I never thought Bill would be President. Little did I suppose as I sat fishing with him on Mosquito Creek, with our legs dangling from the edge of the bridge, or as we caught angle-worms to bait our hooks, that I was with a coming President. I well remember his patience with the hook and line. The

rest of the boys would get disgusted at not getting a bite and go in bathing, but Bill would keep on fishing. When it came time to go home he would carry a string of fish while the rest had to be content with their baths. Sometimes we would all have good luck, and the strings of fish we would carry home suspended from a pole across our shoulders would make the eyes of every one that passed stick away out."

Niles is now a thriving little city of nine or ten thousand inhabitants. The house in which McKinley was born has recently been cut in halves and the part which included the room of his birth has been moved to Riverside Park, a pretty spot a mile away. It has in recent years become the victim of relic hunters, and bears the marks of penknives on all sides.

"There," said Joe Fisher to the reporter to whom he had just spoken of Bill's fishing qualities, "there is the old school in which Bill and I learned our a b c's," pointing to a red colored building across the street. "Bill is President now but he has not forgotten Joe Fisher. I never asked him for an office, for I don't believe in that sort of thing, but if I ever happen to be where McKinley is he throws his arms around me and gives me such a handshake as brings back the days when three of us boys, Bill and Mr. Allison and I, were chums."

One of the blacksmiths of the town made the pair of skates on which young McKinley learned to skate. Skates were a great luxury in those days and the three chums had to use the same pair. After they had all learned the first boy who got to the place where the skates were kept had the right to use them first.

William's playmates remember him as being of a very quiet disposition. The boys who were bent on mischief were never able to interest him. He would neither help nor sanction them in anything they wanted to do. He had no use for "deviltry," as Joe Fisher put it.

"Us three boys," said Joe, "would go down to the saw-mill yard and play with chips of wood. Bill and Allison rather sided with each other and picked up all the large chips and left me the small ones. At last I got disgusted and pitched in and licked them both. Bill was about eight years old then."

Mother McKinley.—Mrs. McKinley, burdened with the cares of a great family and hedged in by poverty, was yet able to give her children as much of the old-fashioned type of training as was good for them. She saw to it that her boys got to school on time, and was careful to find out what they did when they got there. She gave them line upon line, and precept upon precept, and the elementary virtues were strongly implanted in them. They grew up to remember that all liars have their part in the lake of fire and brimstone and to dearly love the truth, which should make them free. The mother had a horror of tattling, and the child who yielded to the temptation to tell tales was soundly punished. William, especially, imbibed much of his mother's spirit, and it has been said by many who knew her that all the great virtues for which he was distinguished had already shown resplendent in her life. She was a woman of unusual strength of mind, and like all her people possessed the loftiest principles and a strong sense of devotion to duty.

Humble Circumstances.—Speaking of those early days, the mother once said:

"Ours was a hard, earnest life. My husband was always an early riser, and off to his work, while we were at Niles. At Poland he was away from home most of the time and the whole burden of the family cares fell on me."

The family moved to Poland when William was eleven years old. The mother was full of ambition for her children, and she wanted them to have the advantages of the excellent schools which were there. The father shared her ambition and was content to spend most of his time in the foundry at Niles to keep meal in the barrel.

At School.—Those who remember his school days say that young McKinley excelled in the study of languages, but was only fairly good at figures. He was a constant reader, and was especially fond of poetry. He was a good debater, and his mother has told how, when a mere boy, he used to go to a tannery kept by Joseph Smith, and engage in warm controversies over the slavery question. These early debates developed a remarkable controversial power which stood him in good stead all through his life.

III.

A YOUTHFUL SOLDIER.

In his eighteenth year he was sent to Allegheny College at Meadville, Pa., where he stood an excellent examination, entering the junior class. It was soon found, however, that his neglect of recreation during his early school days had told too severely upon his constitution, and in a few months he was compelled to leave college and return home. Unwilling to remain idle, he obtained a public school two or three miles from home, and the brisk walks to and from the school soon restored him to his normal condition, and he began to look forward to returning to college and completing his course. At that moment, however, another thought came into his mind and his heart, and mastered it. There was no longer time for study; there was only time for fighting. His cousin, General William McKinley Osborne, now consul-general in London, has told the story of his enlistment in the army:

How He Enlisted.—"There was a great excitement at that time," he says, "and hundreds of people followed the soldiers. Will and I were among them. We drove in a buggy over to Youngstown, and there saw the company leave for Columbus. On our way back to Poland that night we discussed the matter together and decided it was our duty to volunteer, and we thought that the men who stayed would be despised by the community.

"When we reached home Will told his mother what he had concluded to do, and she at once replied:

" 'Well, boys, if you think it is your duty to fight for your country I think you ought to go.'

"A few days after this I left Poland for home and told father I wanted to go to the army. I knew he would allow me to go, as Aunt Nancy advised. I was not disappointed. My father was a Democrat,

but he was a liberal man. He told me I could do as I wished, and he gave me some money (it was gold, I remember) to fit me out. Will McKinley left Poland, and we went to Cleveland together. From there we went to Columbus and enlisted at Camp Chase. General Fremont swore us in. Our enlistment was in cold blood, and not through the enthusiasm of the moment. It was done as McKinley has done most of the things of his life—as the logical offspring of careful consideration."

This was at the beginning of the war. The following spring young McKinley won his first promotion, that of commissary-sergeant. Speaking of this promotion, General Hayes, who was the young man's superior officer, said:

A Tribute from His Superior Officer.—"Young as McKinley was, we soon found that in business, in executive ability, he was a man of rare capacity, especially for a boy of his age. When battles were fought, or a service was to be performed in warlike things, he always took his place. The night was never too dark, the weather was never too cold, there was no sleet or storm, or hail or snow, that was in the way of his prompt and efficient performance of every duty. When I became commander of the regiment he soon came to be upon my staff, and he remained upon my staff for one or two years, so that I did literally and in fact know him like a book and love him like a brother."

General Russell Hastings, who was a lieutenant in the same regiment, said of the young soldier:

"He was always keen, quick and alert, and so was naturally fitted for staff service, a fact his superiors soon realized and took advantage of, so that during the greater part of the war he served on the staff of the general officers, one of the most dangerous positions in the army, one which required the utmost readiness of resource and bravery of the highest order."

At Antietam.—Soon after he had received his promotion his regiment, under the command of Colonel Hayes, broke camp and led

the advance against the enemy, and the greater part of the year was spent in almost continuous fighting. At the Battle of Antietam, which was one of the fiercest engagements of the whole war, there was hardly a cessation of fighting during the whole day and there was extraordinary suffering from hunger and thirst, it being impossible to spare anyone to go to the rear for refreshments. Sergeant McKinley, who was then in charge of the commissary department of the brigade, took in the situation and gathering up the stragglers placed them in charge of food and hot coffee and led them back to the exhausted soldiers. It was near sunset, and when the exhausted soldiers saw McKinley and his men hurrying up with wagons of supplies they cheered to the echo. The mules were lashed into a run and the bullets were flying so thick that the sergeant was ordered back, but he pushed on; and though one team was disabled he managed to get to the hungry men with the other, who, hastily swallowing the refreshments, took heart again and returned to the fray with strength to beat back the furious onslaught which marked the close of the day.

A Heroic Deed at Kernstown.—At the Battle of Kernstown it was suddenly discovered that a large portion of the Union troops were surrounded by Early's army, which was supposed to have gone toward Richmond. The discovery was so terrifying that there was danger of a general stampede, and it was soon realized that nothing but the most perfect skill and heroism could save it from destruction. In the midst of the confusion it was noticed that Colonel Brown's regiment, through some blunder, still retained its position where it was posted at the beginning of the battle. His soldiers were fighting with the fury of desperation, but it was certain that if they remained nothing would save them from annihilation. The men would not retreat without orders, and the enemy was rapidly closing in upon them from every quarter.

A Fearful Risk.—General Hayes saw that the only possibility of escape was to send orders to Colonel Brown to withdraw instantly.

But it was a long distance to the regiment and whoever undertook to carry the message would have to do it at a fearful risk. There was hardly a chance in a thousand that he would get through alive.

In his desperation, General Hayes looked about for a man whom he could trust for the terrible task, and his eyes fell upon young McKinley.

"Colonel Brown," said the General, "has no thought of retreat; not a moment must be lost in ordering him to withdraw. Will you carry the order, Lieutenant, to him?"

McKinley quickly assented, saluted the general, headed his horse toward the regiment, and in an instant he was gone.

As he sped away the general said to himself, in anguish:

"He can never do it! He is sure to be killed!"

His eyes were kept upon the young lieutenant as he sped across the fields. Shot and shell were flying around him, but not for one moment did he pause. A bomb exploded at his side and the horse and his rider disappeared in the smoke and dust.

"He is killed! Both are killed! They have been blown to atoms!" cried the soldiers who were watching the youth.

A Charmed Life.—But the smoke lifted and the lieutenant was seen galloping on toward the regiment. Then the enemy discovered him and the bullets whistled about him thicker than ever. But on he went without so much as bending his head before the blast. The men at Crook's batteries from the top of an adjoining ridge saw his peril and opened upon the enemy, hoping to hold it in check and save the youth's life. Another moment and he had reached the regiment.

It is said that McKinley in the flush of the moment could not forbear adding to the message a word of reproof.

"I supposed you knew enough to withdraw without waiting for orders," he said.

"I was thinking about it," replied the Colonel, "and guess we will make a move, but I must let those fellows have another volley or two."

The regiment delivered its volley and began slowly retreating, firing as they went.

They finally escaped, and McKinley returned to General Hayes with his report.

The general was deeply affected, and after thanking the young man, said:

"I never expected to see you alive again."

At Opequan.—At the Battle of Opequan McKinley distinguished himself for great gallantry and military skill. He had been ordered by General Hayes to bring General Duval's troops to join the first division, which was then advancing to battle. It was a serious question as to what route should be taken. McKinley seemed to grasp the situation intuitively, for without knowing the roads he brought the troops up in good shape and on time, though running many risks on the way. Few men would have accepted the responsibilities which he had on his shoulders that day.

Again Promoted.—A little later he was on the staff of General Crook, and later still he was assigned to duty with General Hancock. In 1864 he received his promotion as major. His brevet commission, which his wife still has in her possession, reads:

"For gallantry and meritorious services at the battles of Opequan, Fisher's Creek and Cedar Hill.

"(Signed) A. LINCOLN."

There are other soldiers who have records more brilliant, but none who displayed more courage, and none who had greater responsibilities for his age than young McKinley.

IV.

CHOOSES THE LAW.

After the surrender McKinley was offered a commission in the regular army, but acting on the advice of his father he determined to become a lawyer, and we soon find him in the office of Judge Glidden, who was then one of the leading members of the Stark County bar. After studying here for a year and a half, the question of providing for himself became a serious one and he began to consider whether it was not his duty to enter upon a business career and continue the study of law at odd moments as he might have opportunity. His sister Annie was then teaching school at Canton. She had saved a little money, and she was full of ambition for her brother. When she learned of his intentions, she said to him:

"You must not think of giving up your studies."

He replied that he was not willing to burden the other members of the family with his support.

"It will be no sacrifice," she said, "or if it be considered such, we can share it among ourselves, and the burden will be hardly felt."

She insisted, and in a few days young McKinley had settled down to hard work at the Albany (Ohio) Law School, one of the finest institutions of its kind in the West.

In 1867 he was admitted to the bar and settled in Canton.

Puts Out His Shingle.—Young McKinley put out his shingle from the back room of the public building. His office was next door to that of Judge Belden, who was a leader in his profession in Ohio. One afternoon the judge was taken sick. He stepped back into young McKinley's office and asked him to take a case for him the next morning. The young lawyer said he was not able to do it; he didn't

know enough; he wasn't familiar with the law in the case, and that there was no time to look it up. The judge insisted, however, and McKinley sat up all night studying the law on the subject.

Wins His Case.—The next day he argued the case and won it. A week afterwards the judge stepped into his office and laid twenty-five dollars on his desk, saying:

"Well, Mack, you won the case. I told you you would."

"Yes," he said, "I won it, but I don't want any pay for it, and if I did I wouldn't want this much."

"You must take it," replied the Judge.

"I couldn't take so much, Judge."

"But that's all right. I get an even one hundred dollars from it and keep seventy-five dollars for myself. And what is more, I want you for a partner."

Judge Belden and Mr. McKinley practiced together for several years, when the judge died.

A Bow-legged Plaintiff.—A few days after entering into partnership with Judge Belden he was asked to defend a surgeon against whom suit had been brought by a man whose broken leg he had set. It was a suit for malpractice, the plaintiff contending that it was through the surgeon's fault that the injured leg had become crooked. It was certain that he was distressingly bow-legged. One of the most brilliant members of the bar had been retained as counsel for the plaintiff, and heavy damages were demanded. In the presence of the court the injured limb was bared, and the brilliant lawyer asked:

"Did you ever see anything worse than that?"

There could be no doubt about it.

"There, gentlemen of the jury," cried the lawyer, "is the convincing evidence which even my learned friend on the other side cannot question. There is the convincing proof of the negligence or incompetency of the surgeon who has destroyed forever the symmetry of my client's perfect limb besides injuring him for life. I am sure

that you intelligent gentlemen will give my client the only remedy possible and which can never fully compensate him for his sufferings and loss, but may serve to teach the medical men that a poor patient is entitled to the same skill and considerate treatment that are given to the millionaire and the man who is able to pay a liberal fee for his service."

The lawyer finished his speech with an air of triumph, and sat down wondering if the opposing counsel would dare open his mouth in reply. McKinley arose, and turning to the plaintiff, said simply:

"Bare the other leg."

"I object," said his lawyer; "the other leg is not in the case. We claim damages for the one that has been virtually destroyed, as the jury and your honor have observed for yourselves."

The judge decided that the request of the counsel was reasonable and proper, and commanded the witness to bare his leg as directed.

There was nothing else to do, and so the man slowly and shamefacedly drew up the trousers of his other limb. Instantly the jurors and spectators broke into convulsive laughter, for the second limb was more twisted than the first. When the laughter had subsided, McKinley said:

"Nature seems to have done less for this man than my client. I move, therefore, that the suit be dismissed with the recommendation that the complainant have his other leg broken and set by my client, the surgeon."

Elected Prosecuting Attorney.—It did not appear as though there was much chance for a rising young Republican politician in such a Democratic stronghold as Stark County, but Mr. McKinley had already developed considerable reputation, and in 1869, when he found that he could have the party nomination for prosecuting attorney, he resolved to take it and get the place. The county was so strongly Democratic that his nomination was really intended for nothing more than a compliment, no one having the slightest idea

of his election. But McKinley, inspired as was then thought by the idea of distinguishing himself in the eyes of his *fiancée,* went into the campaign with such vigor that he carried the county. The opposing candidate was William A. Lynch, who was also the opposing counsel in his first law case. Two years later the two men were again opposing candidates. This time Lynch was elected. Mr. Lynch became one of Mr. McKinley's strongest friends and as a gold Democrat worked for his election in 1896. It was not an unusual experience in McKinley's life that those who opposed him in the fiercest political campaign ended by becoming his staunchest supporters.

V.

CHOOSES A WIFE.

The most prominent young man in Canton was William McKinley. It would have been strange if he had not fallen in love with the belle of the town, who, everybody agreed, was not only beautiful but possessed of all the virtues which adorn her sex. Ida Saxton was the daughter of James A. Saxton, a successful banker of Canton. She was born in 1847 and received every educational advantage to be obtained in that day. After graduating from Media Seminary, she was sent to Europe for an extended tour. A recent visitor to Canton says that the people all remember the home-coming of Miss Ida, and agree that she was a young lady of unusual beauty, bright and winsome, although it is said at times a little capricious, but the embodiment of healthy, happy girlhood. She appreciated the advantages which she had received, and was conscious of the duties of her position. That she was a woman of fascinating personality and unusual force of character is indicated by the fact that no one in Canton who knew her at that time but can now recall some incident illustrative of her charming character.

A Real Love Story.—A friend of the Saxton family said that after her return from Europe her father lived in constant dread that she would soon marry and leave him, and in consequence planned all sorts of methods to keep her admirers, with which she was bountifully supplied, at a safe distance. It was his hope that she might remain single and always live for his own comfort. Although a man of large means, he believed that every one should know how to make a living, and he therefore taught his daughter the banking business, and in a little while she was stationed at the cashier's window in his bank. Here he fondly hoped that she was truly caged, but he reckoned with-

out his host. As a writer has said, "it was the old sweet story, and if to the life romance of Mr. and Mrs. McKinley there was added a little early opposition, the necessity for some few innocent manœuvres to secure a coveted interview, surely the world is more interested in the story. For although all the world loves a lover, it loves best one who owns a stout heart to win his 'faire ladye.'" Mr. Saxton yielded to the inevitable as gracefully as a man could yield when he found it inevitable, and consented to the union of his daughter with Major McKinley, who was then the most popular young man in town. A Philadelphia lady is still in possession of a memento of the union in the shape of a faded invitation to the wedding.

Early Sorrows.—Their first child was born on Christmas Day, 1871, and was named Kate. The second daughter was named for her mother. Before her birth Mrs. McKinley's mother died, and so great was the shock as to cause a long and severe illness, resulting in such prostration that she has never entirely recovered. The second child was taken from them when it was six months old, and shortly afterwards their firstborn died. It was a common remark in the community that although they were overwhelmed by their bereavement they did not rise from it with a particle of bitterness or melancholy. Indeed, their sorrow had such a mellowing effect that it seemed to cast a halo about them, and people who met them said that even a trial so great might have its compensations in this life. With no child to whom their hearts might go out, it is not strange that two natures as affectionate as they were should be drawn even closer together, and that their love should have become a lifetime devotion that fell little short of idolatry. The story of the President's affection for his invalid wife will long be remembered as one of the sweetest stories of our domestic life.

Mrs. McKinley.—Mrs. McKinley was perhaps as abundantly supplied with affection as her husband, although her love was not so remarkable to the world as his own. She never made any concealment

of her pride in her husband. She always believed in him with all her heart. She believed that he was the greatest power for good in the country. She believed in his opinions and in his statesmanship, and she loved him so intensely that she could not keep from disliking any one who passed the slightest criticism upon him. No one could ever joke about Mr. McKinley in her presence with safety. She was never surprised at any of the honors which came to him. To her thinking they came as a matter of course. She knew what he had in him when she married him, and she believed that the world would sooner or later find it out. While she appreciated the honors which came to him, they never made any difference in her feeling toward him. To this day he is what she called him when she first knew him—simply "the Major."

VI.

CHOSEN FOR PUBLIC SERVICE.

McKinley's success at the bar, his marked ability as a speaker, and the charms of his personality soon brought him into public notice and he began to be much in demand.

"A Coming Politician."—The story is told that on one occasion he was sent for to fill the appointment of a prominent politician who had been canvassing the county, and who was detained at home by sickness. He was so youthful in appearance and so modest that when he was introduced to the chairman of the meeting, Michael Bitzer, that gentleman could only ask:

"Can you make a speech?"

This rather blunt remark quite took the breath from the young man for a moment, but on being assured that no offence was intended he soon regained his composure and his pleasant face and went to his task.

One of His Early Efforts.—When he arose and looked at his audience there was not a sign, it is said, of the emotion which usually attends a young man's early efforts. "But," says Mr. Bitzer, "as I remember him the same strong characteristics which have been so notable in his public life within the last few years stood out forcibly on that night." Every one was impressed with his strong personality and his kindly manner, though his audience could only see him dimly in the glimmer of the street lamps. "His hearty handshake and his pleasant smile were all there only waiting for opportunity to develop them." It is said that while he spoke the silence would have admitted of hearing a pin drop. The night was clear and his voice was distinctly heard by those who stood a hundred feet away on the store steps. He did not once refer to his notes, and his vocabulary never failed him.

"Could he speak?" said Mr. Bitzer the other day, recalling the memorable scene. Michael is now eighty-three years old but he remembers it all as if it happened yesterday.

"Could he speak? Well, I should say he could; everybody was simply dumfounded. For nearly an hour he talked as no young man in Stark County had talked before. I told Judge Underhill who accompanied him after the meeting, that McKinley did a blamed sight better than he could, and the Judge, too, pronounced him a coming politician."

Mr. Bitzer said he was greatly surprised when the Judge introduced the young strip of a boy, saying that he had come to make a speech in place of another judge who was unable to be present.

"Of course I only asked McKinley in a joke if he could make a speech. I spoke to him much as I would to a boy, but I really did have my doubts about such a young man doing justice to the occasion."

He introduced him as "William McKinley of Canton."

"Introduced Into Politics."—The old man is naturally very proud of having "introduced the President into politics," as he puts it. One day he drove to Canton and on the street met Mr. McKinley and ex-Postmaster-General Heath.

"Here," said the President to his companion as he put his hand upon Michael's shoulder, "is the man who introduced me into politics several years ago."

Several years before that, Mr. Bitzer had called at the Governor's office in Columbus when Mr. McKinley was Governor. Introducing him to the dozen people who were at the time in the room the Governor said:

"This is the man who first introduced me into politics."

Elected to Congress.—In 1877 Mr. McKinley's friends proposed his name for Congress. In his own county delegates to the Congressional Convention were elected by a popular vote. McKinley carried every township in the county but one and that had but a single dele-

gate; while in the other counties he was almost equally successful. When the Convention met he was nominated on the first ballot. The nomination was a forlorn hope at best, but he accepted it and was elected.

Soon Attracts Attention.—He was but thirty-four years old when he entered the House. As every one knows, there is but little opportunity, as a rule, for a new Congressman to show what is in him, no matter how marked his ability may be. He is assigned to an obscure place on an unimportant committee and there he must bide his time. McKinley, however, had made a profound study of economic questions, and this fact together with his quiet manners and grave, preoccupied look soon attracted attention. Among those who became interested in the new member was James G. Blaine. Their views on public questions were similar, and Blaine invited him to his State to help in the elections in the following October. In his "Twenty Years in Congress" Blaine says of the young Congressman:

How He Impressed Blaine.—"William McKinley, Jr., entered from the Canton district. He enlisted in an Ohio regiment when but seventeen years old, and soon won the rank of major by meritorious services. The interest of his constituency and his own bent of mind led him to the study of industrial questions, and he was soon recognized in the House as one of the most thorough statisticians and one of the ablest defenders of the doctrine of protection."

Pig-Iron Kelly.—When Blaine entered the House Samuel J. Randall, the great Democratic Protectionist, was Speaker, and James A. Garfield was the Republican leader. The great champion of protection at that time was William D. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, a man who possessed a marvelous amount of information on all subjects relating to tariff and industrial conditions. McKinley sat at the feet of the veteran and became known as the lieutenant of "Pig-iron Kelly," as the Pennsylvanian representative was called. Mr. Kelly was attracted by the studious attention of the young Ohioan and expressed a wish

that McKinley should succeed him as leader in the cause of protection. It is needless to add that this wish was gratified even to a greater length than Kelly had hoped for.

In Politics to Stay.—It was soon discovered that McKinley had come into politics to stay. For fourteen years he represented the district of which Stark County was a part. It was not the same district all these years, however, as the opposite party several times gerrymandered it with the hope of securing his defeat. Their first attempt was unsuccessful but he had a narrow escape. The next attempt was made in 1882 and McKinley was elected by a majority of only eight votes. It is said that after his election he went to Washington and called on Secretary Folger at the Treasury Department. There was a Democratic landslide that year and Folger had been defeated as Governor of New York by Grover Cleveland by a majority of 192,000 votes. McKinley spoke of the result in his district and complained of his small majority.

"Why," he said, "my majority was only eight votes."

"Young man," replied Folger, "let me tell you that eight votes is a mighty big majority this fall."

VII.

A BRILLIANT CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

When Garfield retired from Congress McKinley succeeded him on the Ways and Means Committee, and as a member of this committee in 1882 he urged that a tariff commission be appointed, and made a strong speech in its support. As is well known, he took the leading part in framing the tariff bill of 1883, which was enforced for seven years. His speeches on this measure added greatly to his reputation, and he soon became the recognized exponent of the tariff. The Morrison Horizontal Reduction bill, which came up in 1884, gave him another opportunity to fight free trade, which he did with great energy, though he battled in vain, the Democrats being in majority in the House.

Up to this time McKinley had not entered into the domain of national politics, nor had he taken any great part in the affairs of his native State. He had found enough to do to look after his district. But he was now in the public eye and the public began to call for him.

Exhibits Marked Parliamentary Ability.—In 1884 he was made permanent chairman of the Republican State Convention at Cleveland, where he displayed marked parliamentary ability. At this convention he showed how a man surrounded by all the temptations of a public life can be true to a friend who also has political ambition.

True to His Friends.—The fight was between Blaine and Sherman, and the great contest was, of course, for the delegates at large. McKinley had promised some friends, who themselves wanted to be delegates, that he would not be a candidate. Somebody nominated him, but McKinley from the platform immediately withdrew his own name. The sentiment for McKinley, however, was growing every

moment, and his friends would not be still. A motion was put to elect him a delegate, but McKinley being chairman declared the motion out of order. General Grosvenor put the motion again and declared that it was carried, but again McKinley ruled it out of order. His opinion was appealed from and he was not sustained, and General Grosvenor put the motion again, and it was carried. McKinley would not have it, and was again overruled in spite of appeals. Finally there was a roll call, and he was elected in spite of himself. He went to the convention at Chicago and made a great name for himself as a leader of the Blaine men and as the writer of the platform of that year. It was his first work in national politics, and he was already famous.

Again and again efforts to defeat him failed. His leadership in the tariff debate was continued by his fight against the Mills bill in 1888 as the head of the Republican minority. It was in this year (1888) that he was elected to Congress for the seventh consecutive, but, as it proved, last time, and it was in this year also that the first suggestion of his name for the Presidency was made.

Scrupulous Honor.—It was the Chicago Convention that nominated Harrison The delegates, convinced that Sherman was a political impossibility, started a stampede for McKinley.

It is perhaps the most remarkable story in the history of American politics.

"Cæsar thrice thrust away the kingly crown on the Lupercal," —I quote from the New York *Mail and Express*—"and McKinley has twice waved aside a Presidential nomination which might have been his. No one who was privileged to witness the stirring scenes of the Republican National Convention in June, 1888, can ever forget them. No candidate had been able to secure a majority. Sherman, Alger, Allison, Harrison, Gresham and Depew all had a strong following, but none were anywhere near a nomination. McKinley at the head of the Ohio delegation, instructed to vote his delegation solidly for Sherman, was one of the heroes of the convention.

The Convention Turns to McKinley.—"His entrance at each session was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm. Day and night he was at work among the various State delegations, laboring to secure votes for Ohio's great financier. On the sixth ballot a delegate voted for William McKinley, and was greeted by cheers which swelled again and again before silence could be restored. The next State that was called cast seventeen votes for McKinley, and again the cheers broke forth. The drift was unmistakably setting toward McKinley like an ocean tide.

"Everyone expected to see the Garfield nomination of 1880 repeated. But they were disappointed. The roll call was interrupted by McKinley, who, leaping upon a chair at the end of the middle aisle, pale, but calm and determined, uttered a speech which, unpremeditated as it must have been, has never been surpassed for eloquence, for candor and unselfish loyalty. He said:

A Remarkable Speech.—" 'Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my State. I am here by resolution of the Republican State Convention, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman for President, and to use every worthy endeavor to secure his nomination. I accepted the trust, because my heart and judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me for President. I am not insensible to the honor they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me, I cannot remain silent with honor. I cannot consistently, with the wish of the State whose credentials I bear, and which has trusted me; I cannot consistently, with my own views of personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to do or to permit to be done that which could even be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the

chief of mine. I do not request—I demand that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me.'

"The tide was turned, for who could resist such an appeal from a man so loyal, so honorable and so unselfish? On the seventh ballot Benjamin Harrison was named, but McKinley went home to Ohio stronger than ever in the hearts of his fellowmen."

Thrusts Aside the Honor.—Hon. John Little, at one time a Congressional colleague of McKinley, in speaking of the incident, said that those who attended the Republican National Convention of 1888 could not fail to remember the frequent manifestations of friendship towards William McKinley from its very beginning. Every day at Ohio headquarters, and more and more as the week wore away, delegates from all parts of the country asked, "Why not nominate McKinley?" Mr. Little relates that just after midnight, before the final adjournment, McKinley took him by the arm at the Sherman headquarters and requested him to go with him. He led the way to the rooms of the New Jersey delegation in the same building and inquired for the chairman of the delegation.

"I have just been informed," said Mr. McKinley, "that your delegation has determined to cast a solid vote for me to-morrow. I called to inquire whether this is true."

"I do not wish to give you a short answer, Major," responded the chairman, "but whether true or not this is a matter of our own concern. We act on our own responsibility in determining how we shall cast our vote, being accountable only to the Republicans of New Jersey in what we do."

"I beg your pardon," warmly responded the Major, with a face somewhat flushed; "allow me to say that it is not a matter of your own concern alone. It deeply concerns me and I feel that it is my right to know your purpose. I am sure you will not deny me."

"No, no," replied the chairman, "since you are so earnest about it, I see no impropriety in stating to you that we have determined to

cast our vote for William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, for President from now on to the end; and we shall not be alone."

Mr. Little does not attempt to quote the response, but after pressing the claims of Mr. Sherman for the Presidency, his voice became somewhat tremulous from excitement, and he began to speak of the dishonor of receiving votes for himself after he had accepted the trust of delegate-at-large to aid in accomplishing Mr. Sherman's nomination. Then raising his right arm, he said:

"Rather than that, I would suffer the loss of that good right arm; yes, I would suffer death. To accept a nomination, if one were possible, under these circumstances would inevitably lead to my defeat and it ought to lead to my defeat."

The stillness which followed was intense. Presently the chairman said:

"Well, major, if that is the way you view it, of course we will not vote for you."

"I thank you, profoundly," said McKinley. "You don't know what relief that assurance gives me. Now that you have so kindly granted my request let me make another of you."

"What is it?" asked the chairman.

"That you cast your vote for Mr. Sherman to-morrow."

The chairman promised to consider the request and thought Mr. Sherman would get a part of the votes of his delegation. This dramatic incident was related by Mr. Little to Mr. Robert P. Porter, of the Cleveland *World,* and may be accepted as authentic.

A National Figure.—Events were now moving rapidly to make Mr. McKinley a national figure. In Congress, for the last time, the death of William D. Kelley in January, 1890, made McKinley the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and leader of his party in the House. He was not unprepared for such a position, as his first speech in Congress had been on the tariff issue, and since 1881 his whole attention had been devoted to the study of the subject, so that

he was the master of the fact and theory. During these years of debate he had won from friends and opponents a reputation as a singularly clear and logical debater, who had a great talent for marshaling facts in order like a column of troops and throwing them against the vital point in a controversy. "He had a pleasing voice of good, strong quality, he never rambled, he told no anecdotes, he indulged in no sophomoric flights of oratory; he went straight to the marrow of his theme by processes of argument and illustration so clear, simple and direct that he won respect and admiration from both sides of the House. One of his leading opponents used to say that he had to brace himself mentally not to be carried away by the strong undercurrent of McKinley's irresistibly persuasive talk."

The McKinley Tariff.—As a result of these years of study and experience, he laid before Congress and carried through two important measures—the customs administration bill and the famous McKinley tariff bill, the McKinley bill, by virtue of its eminence, the latter not only giving him fame with his countrymen but a notoriety in Europe of the most far-reaching character.

Mr. Russell, Mr. McKinley's biographer, in speaking of the enormous amount of work which was done by McKinley in framing this measure, says:

"The room at the Capitol, and his little office at the Ebbitt House were the liveliest workshops in Washington during the Fifty-first Congress. The industry of framing the bill ran day and night, and into the small hours. The committee met in its room at the Capitol to hear all who wished to be heard on the bill, manufacturers, laborers, importers, free traders and protectionists. The McKinley bill was no 'closed door' affair. Not a single interest, asking to be heard, was refused. At the very beginning, McKinley announced that he would listen to the testimony of any of the great interests of the country until the bill was finally passed. So frank and open was he in his work that the business of the country continued in a feeling of abso-

lute security. There was no distrust, and rumors could not be used in Wall street to shake the foundations of finance or frighten commercial and business men. Wheels turned and looms hummed with no interruption."

His Frankness.—"When he was pressing the passage of the bill his frankness was only matched by his amiability," wrote a friend. "So when the bill had been passed, McKinley was the most notable figure in Washington and he was respected alike by those who had fought with and those who had fought against him. There probably never was a measure passed in Washington of so much importance as this, with so little hard feeling and so few hard words. There was no mistaking McKinley's intention. He was always entirely frank and open and aboveboard. He tried no devious ways; he had no concealed traps to spring. And so those who fought him hardest became his foremost well-wishers as a man, whatever they thought of his policies."

Defeated for Congress.—The McKinley bill became a law on October 6, 1890, and unfortunately on his head and on his bill fell all the odium of the hard times which were due to other policies of other men, and as a result of a third gerrymandering of his district and a reaction against his party he was defeated for Congress in November, but not until he had wrested three out of four counties of his district from the Democrats and was beaten by only 302 votes, having reduced the enemy's probable majority by 2,800.

Of this bill Mr. McKinley has said:

"The law of 1890 was enacted for the American people and the American home. Whatever mistakes were made in it were all made in favor of the occupations and the firesides of the American people. It didn't take away a single day's work from a solitary American workingman. It gave work and wages to all, such as they had never had before. It did it by establishing new and great industries in this country, which increased the demand for the skill and handiwork of

our laborers everywhere. It had no friends in Europe. It gave their industries no stimulus. It gave no employment to their labor at the expense of our own.

"During more than two years of the administration of President Harrison, and down to its end, it raised all the revenue necessary to pay the vast expenditures of the government, including the interest on the public debt and the pensions. It never encroached upon the gold reserve, which in the past had always been sacredly preserved for the redemption of outstanding paper obligations of the government.

"During all of its operations, down to the change and reversal of its policy by the election of 1892, no man can assert that in the industries affected by it wages were too high, although they were higher than ever before in this or any other country. If any such can be found I beg that they be named. I challenge the enemies of the law of 1890 to name a single industry of that kind. Further, I assert that in the industries affected by that law, which that law fostered, no American consumer suffered by the increased cost of any home products that he bought. He never bought them so low before, nor did he ever enjoy the benefit of so much open, free, home competition. Neither producer nor consumer, employer nor employe, suffered by that law."

VIII.

GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

When it was known that great protectionist was defeated, men who did not understand the firm hold which he had on the people of his native State said that it was "the last of McKinley;" but no sooner was it known that he would not return to Congress than a movement was started for his nomination as governor.

Chief Executive of His Native State.—The interest which was immediately awakened soon grew to an overwhelming enthusiasm, and when the Convention met no other name was presented, and he was nominated by acclamation. He was elected by a plurality over Campbell of more than twenty thousand votes.

He was inaugurated in January, 1892, and made a model governor. When he entered upon the duties of his position he knew very little about the affairs of his State, except such as he had gained by reading, but he was not long in learning what was expected of him, and he soon had the affairs of his office well in hand. He was a good judge of men and in consequence made admirable appointments; he also had an eye to economy, and kept down appropriations wherever possible, though in this he was seriously handicapped as he had no veto power. During his administration he had opportunity in several instances to display a high order of courage. The moment that troops were needed to preserve order in a strike McKinley did not hesitate to order them out. He seems never to have stopped to inquire into its effect on his political future. When he saw his duty he did it. When a regiment in performance of its duty fired to kill, he sustained the soldiers. All Ohio soon realized that their governor stood for law and order, and that he would continue to stand.

A Creditable Record.—His course as governor was highly creditable to him both as an executive and as a man. "He sent food,"

says Mr. Ellis, "to starving miners, assuming all responsibility for payment and asking no one to contribute, though it was done; he urged arbitration, and by securing it in many instances brought troubles to an end after they had continued for months; he was as insistent with capitalists as with their employes that each should concede something and the disputants meet half way, but while merciful and kind, he was also stern and just. When the State was threatened with disorder, he called out the whole National Guard; he assumed military command as required by the Constitution, and for weeks slept rarely more than two or three hours out of each twenty-four; he checked lawlessness, and by his prompt effectiveness averted the lynching horrors which have disgraced some other States. Thus, though his second term was trying and tempestuous, it won the respect of good citizens everywhere and increased the estimation in which McKinley was held throughout the country itself."

His Financial Misfortune.—It was during his first term as governor that he was overcome by a great financial misfortune which has now become historic. One of his lifelong friends, a man who had helped him in his early years, went to the wall, and McKinley, being an endorser on his notes for a large amount, went with him. It is certain that McKinley had no interest whatever in the business which his friend Walker represented. He endorsed his notes simply as a friend, and because he felt that he was thereby paying a debt of gratitude. In putting his name on the notes he was led to believe that many of them were made to take up old ones. He supposed that he had really endorsed about $15,000 worth, but when the failure came it was found that the old notes had not been paid and that the entire amount footed up to $118,000. While his political opponents did not believe that he had done anything wrong in the matter, they took advantage of his calamity to insist that he was deficient in business ability. It should be remembered, however, that Mr. Tod, a man of extraordinary business ability, declared that he would have endorsed Walker's papers for half a million dollars the day before his failure.

McKinley had succeeded by severe economy in acquiring property to the amount of $20,000; to this his wife added her inheritance of $75,000, insisting that the debts should be paid to the last penny. The course of Mr. McKinley and his wife deeply touched the hearts of the people, and letters began to pour in upon the governor from every point of the compass, enclosing contributions to aid in the payment of the claims. In every instance, however, the money was returned, with thanks for the sympathy shown him. This led to a change in the tactics of his friends, and they began to send him money without giving their names. Not knowing what to do with these anonymous gifts, he finally, at the advice of his friends, placed his affairs in the hands of several trustees. In a few weeks his trustees came to him with the announcement that every note on which he appeared as endorser had been paid, and that not a dollar of the private fortune of his wife and himself had been touched. This did not satisfy Mr. McKinley or his wife, but the only reply they got was:

"This is nobody's business but ours."

Only the trustees themselves knew where the money came from and they have kept the secret well.

Elected to a Second Term.—His second election to the governorship was by a plurality of 180,000, the largest ever known in that State up to that time. This overwhelming tribute to his worth attracted wide attention, and it began to dawn upon the people that he was destined for far greater honors.

IX.

AS A CAMPAIGNER.

In 1894 the prevailing depression had created an abnormal interest in politics, and the whole country was at fever heat. There had not been a time since the war when there was such great need for a leader. It was natural that in such a crisis the Republicans of the country should turn to Mr. McKinley. He accepted the trust, and at once became the towering figure in the campaign of that year. It was one of the most remarkable campaigns in the history of American politics. During the fall Mr. McKinley made a tour of nineteen States, delivering not less than twenty speeches in each. During two days in Kansas he spoke to not less than one hundred and fifty thousand people. He spoke three hundred and seventy one times during the campaign, and in one day delivered seventeen speechs. Of this campaign Mr. S. G. McClure says:

A Remarkable Campaign.—"The combined tours far exceeded a distance half way round the world. It was one of the marvels of the man that he was able to undergo all the fatigue which this immense feat implies, and yet close the campaign in as good health as when he began, and without having lost a pound of weight. Very often he was the last of the party to retire, and almost invariably was the first to rise. He seemed tireless. Every State committee in the Mississippi Valley, and beyond it, apparently took it for granted that the gallant champion of patriotism, protection and prosperity could not be overworked. When he consented to make one speech for them, they forthwith arranged a half a dozen short stops *en route*, and kept him talking almost constantly from daybreak until late at night. He agreed to make forty-six set speeches in all during the campaign; when he had concluded, he had not only made them, but he had spoken at no less than three hundred and twenty-five other points as well.

Breaks the Record.—"For over eight weeks he averaged more than seven speeches a day. At least two of these daily were to large audiences where he was compelled to talk for an hour or more; the others varied from ten minutes to half an hour in length, and were frequently addressed to crowds of five thousand people. On several occasions as the special train was hurrying him along he was called out for a talk before he had breakfasted, and would find to his surprise that two or three thousand persons had gathered at that early hour to see him. It was not McKinley who sought all this; it was the people who sought McKinley."

Mr. McClure adds that the glowing accounts which the Press Associations carried about his meetings were in fact modest and moderate narratives of what transpired daily. The correspondents were expected to give non-partisan accounts, and did so, though some of the opposition papers, which were served by the Press Association, were growling at what they assumed was the exaggeration the correspondents were guilty of. "The fact is, the meetings were not overdrawn in the least. If anything, the press narratives did not do him full justice, simply because to have done so would have called for general protests from the Democratic papers and the charge that the accounts were highly colored. It is not strange that this should be the case. No one who was not with McKinley part or all the time could form an adequate conception of the enthusiasm and interest with which he was received in all parts of the nation. It had to be seen to be realized."

His Powers of Endurance.—Only a man of the most remarkable powers of endurance could have gone through what McKinley did in the campaigns of '91-'96. Murat Halstead, who was with him much of the time, says that in that period he probably spoke to more than fifteen million people and shook hands with a million and a half. He made about a thousand speeches averaging an hour in length. Such a task was enough to test the nerve of any man, but McKinley went through it all without the least symptoms of illness, though of course he was often wearied and worn.

Few men have been better fitted for such a task. He was a born campaigner. He had a constitution of iron and remarkable recuperative powers. His lungs were strong, and his vocal powers were all that one could desire. He could sleep under the most uncomfortable conditions, and eat anything in almost any quantity and at any time.

A Man of the People.—Then, too, he was a man of the people, and the people instinctively recognized him as a brother. He knew how to get along with people. He remembered faces well and could generally recall a name, and everywhere he went he was sure to meet old friends and to make new ones. He was always approachable, and could always talk easily and freely with those he met.

Assemblyman Adler, of New York City, met him on a railway train in 1891 near Steubenville, Ohio. Relating the incident to a *Sun* reporter he said:

"I boarded a train one day at Steubenville, and the brakeman said to me, 'Go inside that car. There's the Major there. Just introduce yourself.' I walked up to Major McKinley, held out my hand and said: 'Major, allow me to congratulate the next Governor of Ohio.'

" 'Thank you,' he said with a smile. 'You're a traveling man I take it. Sit down. I am always glad to meet you gentlemen.'

"I sat beside him, and I will never forget the pleasant conversation we had. He talked glowingly of the future of the United States, and incidentally the tariff issue was brought up.

" 'Young man,' he said, 'we love the United States. When anybody advocates free trade for this grand, rich Republic of ours just tell them for an answer that one of the reasons that you love this country is for the gold there is in it, and you want it to stay here.'

"At that time I had no thought of going into politics, but from then on I was a protectionist. In 1895 when I was a member of the Assembly, Speaker Fish one day announced to the members: 'Gentlemen, allow me to introduce to you Governor McKinley, of Ohio,' and we members all passed up to shake hands with the Governor. When

it came to my turn he looked at me sharply and asked: 'Aren't you the young man I met on a train one day near Steubenville? I think you are and that you said you were a drummer.'

"'I am,' I replied.

"'Then what are you doing up here?' he asked.

"'The people down where I live sentenced me up here,' I said.

"'Are you a member of the Assembly?' he asked.

"'Yes, and a good Republican member,' I answered.

"'I am glad to hear it,' he replied. 'I am glad to see one of your profession so highly honored. I won't forget you, young man.'

"It was only about a year ago that I went to Washington to seek a pardon for one of my constituents. It was a deserving case, and I felt that after I talked with the President he would grant my request. The minute I entered his chamber he recognized me and held out his hand.

"'I am pleased to see you,' he said. 'You are the young drummer I met on the train in Ohio and afterward in Albany. Are you still in politics?'

"'Yes; I am still a member there,' I said.

"I explained my errand, and my request was granted right away. The next day I had the pleasure of restoring to his wife and children a father who had been sentenced to a long term in Sing Sing for a crime of which I knew he was innocent."

Always on the Lookout for Information.—Mr. Halstead says that it was especially interesting to observe in a campaign how anxious Mr. McKinley was for information. When he went to a town he would listen to the talk of the politicians, to every statement about party conditions, and local affairs, and especially about every industry. He would not cross-question them, he would only listen, and at the meeting afterward it would be seen that their talk had gone to the spot, and he would use the information he got to give a touch of local color to his argument, something he could always do with great effect.

It used to be often said that he had but one speech. That was because the tariff of which he was the recognized exponent was sure to come in for discussion. Of course the basis of this discussion was necessarily the same, but his language and illustrations were constantly varying.

Those who attended him in his campaigns said that he would outlast all who accompanied him. He knew how to take things pleasantly. He had the knack of making people feel that he was not only satisfied with what they had done for him but that he felt honored by their attentions. On the train he would talk familiarly with the conductors and brakemen, and they became very proud of his friendship. While waiting at a station he would generally manage to get in conversation with the baggage man or the station agent or any one who might be loitering about, and thus every day and every hour he was adding to his army of friends. If those who accompanied him grumbled about the arrangements that were made for them he did not hesitate to take them aside and reprove them, and if he found them engaged in levity of a hurtful sort he reproved them for that too. It was particularly noticeable that when he came to a town that was noted for its religious atmosphere he would insist that every one who went with him should in every possible way show respect for the feelings of the people whose guests they were.

X.

AS AN ORATOR.

As a public speaker McKinley stood in the front rank of those who carefully studied the matter of their discourses, leaving the manner to nature and the occasion. Whatever else he might be he was always natural. He never dealt in sensations. He never went to work to make people weep. He never tried to stir up excitement. He simply thought out as thoroughly as he could what he wanted to say, and then said it in the simplest and most unaffected way he could. His style was clearness and straightforwardness exemplified, and so direct that no effort was required to follow him even through the least interesting parts of his speech.

A Happy Faculty.—"He displayed to perfection that happy faculty for which he has since become famous of clothing with the magnetic charm of life the cold, practical facts of economic philosophy and experience. His voice, high but resonant, clear and musical as a bell, pierced to every corner of the house, and it was evident to his hearers that a new leader had sprung into the front ranks of the great Republican party."

Noble Sentiments.—Mr. Halstead says that phrases and sentences would come trickling and bubbling forth from him apparently without preparation, and sometimes they would form the most beautiful constellations of great oratorical effect and oratorical beauty. It could not be said that he was epigrammatic, and he will not live in the memory of the people as a proverb maker; yet he left behind him some sentiments as noble as ever fell from the lips of man.

At Petersburg (Virginia) in 1885 he said: "I am for America because America is for the common people."

At Woodstock (Conn.) in 1891 he said: "If the party is wrong,

make it better. That's the business of the true partisan and good citizen."

It was he who said that "the North and the South no longer divided on old lines but on principles and policies."

It was at the Omaha Exposition that he uttered the noble sentiment, "Peace is the national desire and the goal of every American aspiration."

At the Peace Jubilee in Chicago he cried, "Duty determines destiny."

At the Peace Jubilee in Atlanta he said: "The time has now come in the evolution of feeling under the providence of God when in the spirit of fraternity we should share with you in the care of the graves of the Confederate soldiers."

At Tuskegee he reminded the colored students that "intelligence and industry are the best possessions which any man can have, and every man can have them;" and he remarked to the surviving volunteers returned from the Philippines, that "these heroes died for their country, and there is no nobler death."

In his tribute to Washington at Mount Vernon he said: "The nation is his best eulogist and his noblest monument."

And who will ever forget the last sentence of his last message to the people the day before the final tragedy: "Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of the earth."

Not a Humorist.—There was a noticeable absence of funny stories from his speeches. He was not a humorist, and besides, he always felt that his cause was too sacred for jokes. He went at his work with the tremendous earnestness of the old pioneer preachers who would save the people from their sins. Yet, while he was in no sense a humorist, few men had a keener sense of humor. The story is told that a New York magazine not long ago sent one of its best writers to Canton with

instructions to secure a story on McKinley humor. The young man spent nearly two weeks interviewing the President's life-long friends, and was compelled at last to leave without material. There was no McKinley humor.

"I have yet to find a man who has heard McKinley tell a comic anecdote," he wrote. "He seems to enjoy humor as much as any one, but never appears as a source of amusement. One could conceive that he might have a reluctance to appear as a comedian since he is the Chief Executive, believing it incompatible with the dignity of the office. But even in his early days in politics I can find no record of his relating stories. In any event, that is the result of my investigation and I am ready to give up the trial."

One of His Jokes.—The little town of Oberlin, Ohio, is probably one of the straitest-laced places in America. It is the home of a university, and the town-fathers have so jealously guarded the morals of the young people that not only is the sale of liquor prohibited but even tobacco is unknown in the stores. A Mr. Monroe, at one time a Congressman from the Oberlin district, was in the habit of entertaining all the political leaders who visited the place, and during Mr. McKinley's first gubernatorial campaign he stopped at Mr. Monroe's house.

A Town Without a Cuspidor.—After dinner Mr. McKinley took a cigar from his pocket and casually remarked to his host that if he did not mind he would have a smoke. Mr. Monroe looked aghast, but not desiring to appear inhospitable and yet dreading the social ostracism which he would doubtless suffer if a guest should be seen smoking on his piazza, he conducted Mr. McKinley to a back balcony on the second floor, where he was screened from the public view, and told him to go ahead. McKinley lighted his cigar, and leaning back in his chair called for a cuspidor, as all good smokers do.

"Why there is not such a thing in town," replied Mr. Monroe, and the coal bucket was pressed into service.

Soon after the meeting Mr. McKinley spoke at East Liverpool,

which is a great pottery centre. He mentioned his experience to a friend who was the proprietor of one of the big potteries there, and then said:

"By the way, Taylor, just for a joke send a gross of your china spittoons to Mr. Monroe. Don't tell him where they came from or he will suspect that I had a hand in it."

Colonel Taylor immediately crated a beautiful assortment of chinaware and sent it to Oberlin. A year later McKinley was again a guest at Mr. Monroe's house. He went with a liberal supply of good smoking material and soon asked for the back balcony. Lighting a cigar, he remarked:

"You haven't a cuspidor in town yet, have you, Monroe?"

"Well now, that is funny," replied his host; "but a few days after you were here last year some one sent me a whole crate of those things. Of course I had no use for them, and they were such nice china and so prettily painted that my wife used them all for flower-pots. There is not one about the house not in use."

An Exception.—This statement that there was never any McKinley humor is after all an exaggeration. On Monday after the tragedy in Buffalo, when everybody about the house was happy over the apparent improvement in the President's condition, the doctors were in his room feeling his pulse and obtaining the necessary data for a bulletin. "The President kept up a running conversation with us," said one of the physicians afterwards in telling the story, "and for very good reasons, we did not want him to exhaust his strength uselessly. One of the doctors stepped to the bedside and said: 'Mr. McKinley, you are not to talk. We have decided you must not talk.' The President's dark eyes were bent on the one who gave the order, and without moving a muscle of his face, he said:

" 'You gentlemen think you don't have a chance to boss the President of the United States often and you are improving your opportunity.' "

His Intense Conviction.—After all there was no need for humor in McKinley's speeches, for he had something infinitely better. He had sincerity. It was his intense conviction that carried the day. No one could listen to him without feeling that he believed in his principles and that he would stand by them to the end. After the Congressional campaign of 1882, when he was left with a very slender majority, a Congressman said to him rather sneeringly:

"Your constituents do not seem to support you, Mr. McKinley."

McKinley answered:

"My fidelity to my constituents is not measured by the support they give me. I have convictions I would not surrender if ten thousand majority were entered against me."

XI.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF '96.

It was almost inevitable that a public man with the record which McKinley had should soon become a candidate for the Presidential nomination of his party. In 1896 the concurrence of hard times with the adoption of a low tariff policy by the Democrats gave the Republican party an opportunity to put the responsibility for the existing state of affairs upon free trade, and to maintain that the only way to secure a return of prosperity was to re-establish the old protective system.

The Logical Candidate.—"Of course," said the *Evening Post*, "if this were to be done, the logical candidate was the man who had carried through Congress that McKinley bill which the people had at first rejected, but which they were now supposed to recognize as wise and good. Mr. McKinley had the great advantage of an exceptionally wide acquaintance with Republican politicians throughout the country, to supplement and guide the popular favor which he enjoyed. He was fortunate in having no serious rival among the party leaders except Mr. Reed, who was by no means so well known to the people and who had little strength with the wire-pullers and pipe-layers. Finally his canvass was taken in charge by the most efficient manager ever known in American politics—Marcus A. Hanna, of Cleveland, who applied 'business methods' with a success which was the despair of those who tried to secure delegates for anybody else—especially in the South. It was a foregone conclusion that Mr. McKinley should be nominated, and it was not strange that over two-thirds of the delegates voted for him on the only ballot that was taken."

During the Convention.—The convention was held in Chicago. During its session McKinley remained with his family at the home in

Canton. The telegraph companies had arranged to carry the news to him at the earliest possible moment, and in his house there was a long-distance 'phone connecting with the auditorium in which the convention was held. An expert sat at each end of the wire. McKinley was the calmest man in the whole group as he waited for the news. His neighbors and several newspaper correspondents were with him, while his mother, now eighty-six years of age, sat in a room across the hall with Mrs. McKinley. Mr. Ellis tells the story:

The Nomination.—"After lunch McKinley took his place beside the operator at the telephone. The young man announced the different nominations as the rest of the visitors gathered around and intently listened.

" 'Foraker is about to speak,' he said, with his ear to the instrument.

"A few minutes later he added:

" 'He has just mentioned your name and the convention has gone wild.'

"The anxious minutes passed, and, looking in the faces of the group, the operator smilingly added:

" 'They are keeping it up.'

" 'I have seen cheering contests in other conventions,' remarked McKinley, who was recalling some of his experiences, when the operator beckoned him forward and placed the instrument to his ear.

"Even the veteran was impressed by the roar that rolled across three States from the tumultuous convention hall to the humble home in Ohio, guided by one of the most wonderful inventions of man.

"Finally after a long time the operator added:

" 'Foraker is trying it again. He says——'

"And he repeated the glowing words as they were uttered hundreds of miles away.

"When the voting began McKinley jotted down the figures on a tablet. Suddenly came the announcement:

"'Ohio—forty-six for McKinley!'

How He Received the News.—"That decided it. The Major stopped figuring, and rising to his feet, walked across the hall and kissed his wife and venerable mother. He had hardly done so when the windows rattled from the boom of a cannon fired but a short distance away. Canton had heard the news and had begun its celebration.

"It seemed as if in a few minutes the streets were swarming with people, all wending their way to the home of Major McKinley. The congratulations showered upon him were almost without number, while his acknowledgments were fervent and in the best of taste. It seemed as if Canton had become the Mecca for weeks following for half the people in the country. The candidate remained at home during the campaign, making responses to the delegations of numerous associations that called, but leaving the campaign wholly in the hands of his political manager."

His Brilliant Opponent.—William J. Bryan, Mr. McKinley's opponent, entered the fight with marvelous energy, traveling from city to city, addressing great throngs in the public halls and on the platform of his railway car, at fairs and mills and workshops, and at all hours of the day and night. As a campaigner he was quite the equal of Mr. McKinley himself, and despite the popularity of the Republican candidate, many of his supporters had misgivings of his success.

The Situation.—This campaign was altogether different from what Mr. McKinley had long planned and expected. His specialty as a public man—I quote from the *Evening Post*—"had always been the tariff. He had, of course, supported whatever policy his party at any time advocated, for he was always a faithful partisan, but he had never cared much for anything except protection. Cleveland had given the country 'free trade,' and thus precipitated financial distress; McKinley would restore protection, and prosperity would come in its train—'the advance agent of prosperity,' an admirer styled him. This was what he meant to run on. The national platform must have planks

on other subjects, however, and the must puzzling was the question of the national finances. For many years the silver question, in various forms, had been before the country. Not long after the close of the Civil War there was an earnest attempt to secure further inflation of the currency, which was depreciated much below gold, the first demand being for the issue of a great additional quantity of greenbacks. The movement was favored by most Democrats and by many Republicans, but it was finally defeated when President Grant vetoed the so-called Inflation bill in 1875.

Sixteen to One.—"The next form which the craze took was that of a demand for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, which came before Congress during Mr. McKinley's first session. Most Democrats favored this policy also, and so did many Republicans, especially in the States beyond the Alleghanies. Every Representative was thus at liberty to vote as he chose, and on the fifth of November, 1877, Mr. McKinley cast his vote for a free-coinage scheme, urged by 'Silver Dollar' Bland, of Missouri. He had plenty of company among Republican Congressmen from his own State, Indiana and the Middle West generally, but many of the ablest members were on the other side, like Garfield and Reed. It was impossible to carry the scheme through Congress, but a compromise was cooked up, which provided for the cumpulsory coinage of not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 silver bullion a month. This also was objected to by the sound-money men, and was vetoed by Mr. McKinley's old war commander, President Hayes, but the young Congressman refused to sustain the veto, taking his stand with those who wanted to 'do something for silver,' and who would take a half loaf if they could not get the whole.

Both Parties Dallied.—"As time passed both parties dallied with the question. Mr. Cleveland earnestly opposed free coinage, and during his first term repressed the disposition of many Democratic Congressmen to make it a feature of party policy. Meanwhile many Repub-

lican leaders were timid. They advanced far enough to pronounce against free coinage, but they shrank from declaring openly for the gold standard, and sought to devise some compromise which would satisfy the silver men of the further West without too much offending the sound-money people of the East. What came to be known as the Sherman Silver Purchase Act was adopted as the way out of the difficulty during the first session of Congress under Harrison. It substituted for the existing system of silver coinage the purchase by the government of silver bullion to the amount of 4,500,000 ounces a month. As leader of the House, Mr. McKinley carried this measure through the lower branch, and he shared in the satisfaction expressed by many of the party managers over what was considered a very shrewd 'dodge,' by which they had avoided actual support of free coinage, which was offensive in the East, and could still get credit in the West by boasting, as the Indiana Republican platform of 1890 did, that the party had taken 'a long yet prudent step toward free coinage.' After he lost his seat in Congress, Mr. McKinley continued to make bids for the support of the silver men, taking pains to denounce Mr. Cleveland for his firm adherence to the gold standard.

Growth of Sound-Money Sentiment.—"Sound-money sentiment grew in strength among the Republicans as time passed, but there was still an element in the party, especially beyond the Mississippi, which clung stoutly to the silver fallacy. Mr. McKinley's tendency always was to compromise, and he wanted to have a plank on the financial question in the platform of the Republican National Convention which would not offend either side, and then make the tariff the chief issue. But the sound-money men in the convention were strong enough to force a plank which went so far toward the gold standard that the pronounced silver men walked out of the hall, under the lead of Senator Teller. The Democrats, on the other hand, rushed to the other extreme by declaring outright for 'sixteen to one,' and nominating as their candidate William J. Bryan, who made the fight upon that issue.

A Reluctant Champion of Gold.—"The Republicans who in 1877 had favored free coinage, who in 1890 had endorsed a 'long step' in that direction, and who in 1896 wished still to figure as a 'friend of silver,' were thus compelled reluctantly to appear as the champion of the gold standard. With equal reluctance, Democrats and Independents who abominated a high tariff, and who would have voted against Mr. McKinley if the tariff had been the issue, were compelled to support him as the only way to insure the maintenance of the gold standard and the preservation of the national honor. It was the most extraordinary campaign which had ever been known, in the fact that many of the successful party's most effective advocates, like Carl Schurz, were men who distrusted its candidate, were dissatisfied with his record, and were hostile to the protective system which he championed, and yet felt constrained to urge his election, in order to avert the success of a nominee and a policy that were alike intolerable. The result was the success of Mr. McKinley by 271 out of 447 votes in the electoral college, and over 600,000 plurality in the popular vote."

XII.

PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

The election to the Presidency came to Mr. McKinley when he was fifty-three years old, after a long experience in public life as Congressman and after valuable executive training as Governor of his native State. He had also come in touch with the people in a way that put him thoroughly in sympathy with the country's hopes and aspirations. He believed he knew what the people believed in, and was convinced that he knew the policies that would insure their welfare and the permanent revival of the industries of the country.

A Man of the People.—When he went into the White House he was hand in hand with the plain people of the nation, and he remained with them to the end. As I have already said, he had a faculty for making friends, and at the time of his election he had hosts of them in every part of the country. He had a remarkable talent for getting on with the people everywhere, and he soon came to be on the very best of terms, not only with every member of his own party in each branch of Congress, but also with nearly all of the Senators and Representatives of the opposition.

Perhaps nothing gave him more pleasure during his public life than the opportunities which he took whenever available to mingle with the people. He particularly resembled Abraham Lincoln in his fondness for the plain masses. In his tours through the country he was always democratic in his familiar greetings of the crowds, and in his efforts to make them feel that they were of the same blood with him.

On one of these tours it is related that in a small town in Illinois when the President's train was just leaving the station, a man who up to that time had had no chance to get near the President's car fought his way through the crowd, climbed to the rear platform, thrust his hand over the rail and cried:

"Give us a shake, Bill."

The President laughed and gave the man a hearty grip of the hand, though he had already turned to enter his compartment at the end of the car.

Enjoying a Mob.—At another time, in Burlington, Ia., the President was literally mobbed when trying to pass to his car from the carriage in which he had been driven through the streets of the town. It was evening, and the crowd, to use the reporter's phrase, hurled itself at him in such a solid mass that he could not walk through it in the ordinary way. His train was waiting for him, and the members of his Cabinet had all reached it. Many of them had gone to their rooms, for it was nearly midnight and they had assumed that the President would get to his car without difficulty. But the delay in starting the train brought them to the platforms, and there they saw the head of the nation literally "bucking the mob."

"Yet it was a most orderly mob—for a mob. Not one of the people would have harmed the President, but they wanted to get close to him. And he—he was smiling broadly through it all, although making only a snail's progress, and to do that he had to put his shoulder forward with his elbow well out and forge his way ahead, amid the cheers of the throng."

"He likes that!" said George Bruce Cortelyou, his secretary, "there is nothing he likes better. He enjoys being right down there among the people, close to them in all their natural moods. And all he needs is to get that right shoulder of his forward and he will go through them all without hurting anyone's feelings."

When warned that there might be danger in the public receptions, which he so much enjoyed, he replied that all banquets might be omitted if it be deemed desirable, but that he would continue to have and attend the receptions for the people. As Mr. Eggleston has said, he recognized that the people wished to honor him and themselves by an honest handshake. He saw that patriotism was aroused and

quickened by this mingling of the President with all the people; he saw that they would better understand and appreciate their power and privileges under our form of government if they could by personal contact clearly perceive that the President is but a citizen of the Republic, chosen by their votes to act as their representative in his particular department; and, like other Presidents that preceded him, he drew inspiration from meeting his fellow-citizens face to face.

Selecting His First Cabinet.—Perhaps Mr. McKinley never displayed his desire to give the nation his best thought and care more deeply than in his selection of his first Cabinet. Several weeks passed after his election before he made his first selection—Senator John Sherman, whom he offered the Secretaryship of State. It should be remembered, by the way, that at that time Mr. Sherman was apparently in the height of his powers, although two months later indications of physical and mental weakness began to appear.

The selection of a Secretary of Treasury was exceedingly difficult, there being a dearth of material for this particularly important position. Every man who was mentioned seemed to possess some objectionable trait. In McKinley's extremity a Chicago newspaper man suggested the name of Mr. Gage, a banker of that city. The suggestion was not seriously considered at the time by anyone except Mr. McKinley himself, and all were surprised a few weeks later when Mr. Gage was summoned to Canton. He was told that his services were needed. Mr. Gage, however, said that he had not been identified with the high tariff wing of the party, and, it is said, even confessed that he had once voted for Mr. Cleveland.

"Never mind," said Mr. McKinley; "I want a practical financier at the head of the Treasury. Our ideas regarding revenues will not so conflict that you need hesitate to accept this duty and honor. The nation needs you as much as ever a nation needed a man."

In the Hands of the Reporters.—General Alger was invited to Canton and given an opportunity to accept the war portfolio. He

accepted, and in a few moments went to pay his respects to Mrs. McKinley. While he was gone Mr. McKinley came out to the newspaper men, who tried, as usual, to interview him, and with poor success. An old friend among them, however—a man who had accompanied McKinley in some of his campaigns, approached him and said:

"Mr. McKinley, if I were to ask you if you have offered the portfolio of war to General Alger what would you say?"

"I should say," replied Mr. McKinley, "that you had better ask General Alger."

There was a ripple of amusement, and a moment later when General Alger came into the room he said very frankly:

"Well, gentlemen, the President has offered me the position of War Secretary in his Cabinet and I have accepted."

After this incident the newspaper men were unable to get any information from prospective candidates for the Cabinet, as the President took care to request them to keep their secrets until they had gone home. Mr. Long came and accepted the Interior Secretaryship, and returned home without the newspaper men getting a hint of it.

Judge McKenna came all the way from California at the President's request and was offered the position of Attorney-General. When the President had laid the matter before him the Judge said:

"Mr. McKinley there are nine reasons why I cannot accept your offer."

"Name the reasons, Judge," replied the President; "possibly we can remove or avoid some of them."

The Judge said his first reason was that he was a Roman Catholic; the second, that he was without sufficient means to live the life of a Cabinet official; the third, that his aspirations were judicial rather than political, and so on. Mr. McKinley replied:

"I am to be President of white and black, of Protestants and Catholics, of the North and the South, and the West and the East."

He said that the administration was to be a business administra-

tion, and not a social one, so that the expenses of entertaining would not be great. He also spoke of a position upon the Supreme bench which would soon be open, and which would be a fitting termination to a man's judicial aspirations.

The rest of the members of the Cabinet were selected with the same great care. Geographical distributions as well as personal fitness guided him in his selection. "Each of these men," said a writer, "knowing Mr. McKinley but slightly at first, and seeing him in the trying times of war and the piping times of peace, surrounded by national dangers and personal sorrows, learned to love him and to revere his memory. None more than these appreciates his pure personality and his conscientious Christianity, realizes his devotion to his invalid helpmate or believes more implicitly that he now sleeps secure 'Nearer, My God, to Thee.'"

The Dingley Act.—His record in the Presidency is too fresh to need attention at great length. True to his faith in his favorite doctrine of protection as the source of national prosperity, he convened Congress in extra session immediately after his inauguration to pass a new tariff bill. This bill, which was a thoroughgoing protection measure, known as the Dingley Act, became a law on the twenty-fourth of July following.

His first administration was largely taken up with the Spanish war and the policy of the United States toward the former possessions of Spain. The results of his first term may be summarized as follows: The Dingley tariff, the sound-money law, the war with Spain, the annexation of Porto Rico, the Philippines and San Juan, the annexation of Hawaii and Tutulia and the organization of Cuba.

Great Force of Character.—There was a popular impression when he entered the Presidency that he was a man without definite policy, and that he was wholly under the influence of Senator Hanna and others. This impression has remained in some quarters until this day. It seems to have grown out of his delightful manner. As a

matter of fact he was a man of great force of character, and some of his friends insist that he was as fully determined as Grover Cleveland. He worked with a set purpose to accomplish his designs, and he often had hard work to bring Congress to his way of thinking, but in no respect did he give an inch, although he had such a pleasant way of carrying his point that one was hardly conscious that he was carrying it.

His Methods of Work.—In the White House Mr. McKinley was a methodical and tireless worker, though he was seldom known to rush. He never postponed business from one day to another, and was never given to those dashes of ambition and despair which fritter away the time of so many talented men. He was a born executive, endowed to a remarkable degree with the power to make others work for him. He knew how to direct, how to place resposibilities upon men's shoulders, and how to leave the details to others in order to give himself to more important tasks.

He was an early riser, and before nine had breakfasted and was reading the morning papers. A little before ten he went into the Cabinet Room, which he used as his private office. There he looked over his engagements and received callers. To every one who came he gave a cordial handshake and an opportunity to make known his business. He usually remained standing through the interview, but as some one has said, if he was sitting it was time to retire the moment he arose. He allowed his work to be interrupted by the arrival of any Cabinet officer, Senator or Representative, and however urgent the demands of the day, every one who came went away feeling pleasant.

He always insisted on going over important papers and altering some phrase or expression in order to clear up or qualify its meaning. The members of his Cabinet were accustomed to say that he almost invariably had some change to make, and that it was usually an improvement. He was especially careful in the preparation of proclamations. He began early on his Thanksgiving proclamation, laying

great stress upon its importance, and it will be remembered that his Thanksgiving proclamations were models of grateful expression.

In the preparation of his messages he was exceedingly painstaking. His methods varied from year to year. At one time he would dictate almost the entire message; at another he would write it himself with a pen, or occasionally with a pencil. Long before the real work of writing began he would jot down notes of points to be included, and when the time for writing came he had all the facts at hand.

XIII.

THE SPANISH WAR AND AFTER.

Probably no man could have foreseen that William McKinley, who was elected as a leader of the peaceful principles of economic legislation, and who was all his life a man of peace, would become a war President; but a war President he became, in spite of himself.

For a long time there had been a controversy over the treatment of Cuba by Spain, and during the first meeting of the session of the Fifty-fifth Congress it became acute.

There was a strong popular feeling that the situation in the island was becoming intolerable, and the politicians cultivated the idea that our government ought to interfere in the interest of the Cuban people. The McKinley administration for a time followed the example of its predecessor, by seeking to secure an amicable settlement, but the terrible calamity of February 15, 1898, brought the turning point.

The Disaster to the "Maine."—The battleship "Maine," while riding at anchor in the harbor of Havana, was blown up at night and 256 of her officers and crew hurled into eternity. The news of the disaster horrified the whole civilized world, and there sprang up at once in the hearts of the people an intensity of righteous wrath that could not be restrained. Mr. McKinley now found himself in a most trying situation. On the one hand was the fierce wrath of the American nation clamoring for the punishment of the treacherous Spaniards—it being almost universally believed that the "Maine" was blown up by Spanish officers—and on the other was the call equally loud for armed intervention in Cuba.

Holding Out Against the Inevitable.—He knew what war meant, and, like every other man who has been to war, he regarded it as the last resort of the nation, that could never be employed until diplom-

acy, arbitration, argument and persuasion had been carried to the utmost limit. Day after day he held out against the tumult, but the tide ran higher and higher, and at last he ceased to resist it. It is still a question with many just how far the war with Spain was forced upon the President by a clamorous people and a clamorous Congress. Amid the excitement, intensified every hour, and the expressed impatience with the President's slowness, the situation was summed up by a leading paper in the following words:

"The country has for its President a statesman whose personal bravery and warmth of human emotions no one would think of questioning, but whose calm determination to exhaust every possibility of peace with honor deserves from his country the highest respect.

"The country has a national legislature patiently and loyally heeding the advice of the executive, although burning hot with the sentiment that becomes a country like ours, when in sight of a neighboring people struggling for liberty.

"The country has an army and navy alive with the national spirit, and ready for the performance of any duty that may be prescribed for them.

"And it has a people, spreading over forty-five States, whom the fearful trial of the 'Maine' disaster has shaken neither in dignity nor in understanding, and who in their sorrow over the loss of the 'Maine' and in their longing to see the United States play its part in succoring a maltreated American State, are more truly united and more intensely fired with a common patriotism than at any time since the making of the Constitution. Never since the beginning of their independence have Americans had occasion to be more proud and more hopeful of their country."

Message on the Cuban Question.—On the eleventh of April the President sent to Congress his message on the Cuban question. It was a lengthy and strong document, in which he set forth in vigorous language the terrible effects of Spanish misrule, recited the particulars

of the "Maine" disaster and then asked for authority to intervene to stop the war in Cuba at his own discretion. With that he turned the whole question over to Congress, holding himself ready to obey its instruction.

Grounds of Intervention.—The grounds of intervention were thus summed up:

"First—In the cause of humanity, and to put an end to the barbarities, starvation and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door.

"Second—We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

"Third—Right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade and business of our people, and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

"Fourth—And which is of the most importance—The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us, and with which our people have such trade and business relations—when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger, and their property and themselves ruined—when our trading vessels are liable to seizure and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation, the expeditions of filibustering that we are powerless to prevent altogether, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace, and compel us to keep on a semi-war with a nation with which we are at peace."

Previous to this Congress had unanimously placed $50,000,000 at the disposal of the President to be used in preparing the country for the war that was generally believed to be inevitable. The most vigorous preparations were set on foot; recruiting offices were opened, new cruisers and ships were bought, and the naval and war offices were full of activity. In the meanwhile there was a great demonstration of patriotism throughout the country

A few days after the message Congress gave to the President all and more than he asked. Instead of granting him authority the resolution laid a command upon the Executive, who was authorized and directed to intervene at once and stop the war with Cuba. Again, instead of authorizing intervention for the purpose of establishing a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, as McKinley had asked, it directed him to establish, by the free action of Cuba, a stable and independent government of its own.

The Joint Resolution of Congress.—On the twentieth of April McKinley approved the joint resolution of Congress declaring that the people of the Island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent, demanding that "the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters," and directing and empowering the President to use the United States forces and call out the State militia to such extent as might be necessary. As was expected, the Spanish Minister at Washington immediately asked for his passports; our Minister at Madrid, General Woodford, was notified that diplomatic relations had terminated, and on the twenty-fifth of April the President recommended the passage by Congress of a joint resolution declaring war, which was promptly carried by an all but unanimous vote.

The War and Its Results.—The war cloud burst, but in less than three months the skies were clear again. The result was assured from

the beginning, Spain being bankrupt, honeycombed with corruption and without a friend among the nations, while our own country was limitless in its resources and numbered among its friends the mightiest of the maritime nations. But in those three months the equilibrium of the whole world had been disturbed.

Dewey's Victory.—War had hardly been declared before Admiral Dewey, whose fleet had for some time been in Eastern waters, engaged the Spanish fleet lying in the harbor of Manila, the chief port of the Philippine Islands, and destroyed it. "This victory led to the occupation of the city by our forces, and a popular demand arose that the whole group of islands, which now seemed within our grasp, should become the possession of the United States. The President hesitated, sought to learn public opinion, became convinced that the policy of expansion was popular, and finally instructed our Peace Commissioners to insist upon the cession by Spain of the Philippines, as well as Porto Rico, to the United States—Cuba also to be held by our forces until a government could be established by its people. The ratification of the treaty was bitterly opposed in the Senate, but it was finally carried by little more than the two-thirds vote required. Meanwhile, it should be noted, Hawaii had been peaceably annexed to the United States."

In an eloquent speech before the Ohio Society in New York Mr. McKinley, in reviewing the results of the Spanish war, said:

"After thirty-three years of unbroken peace came an unavoidable war. Happily, the conclusion was quickly reached, without a suspicion of unworthy motive or practice or purpose on our part, and with fadeless honor to our arms. I cannot forget the quick response of the people to the country's need and the quarter of a million men who freely offered their lives to their country's service. It was an impressive spectacle of national strength. It demonstrated our mighty reserve power and taught us that large standing armies are unnecessary when every citizen is a 'minute man' ready to join the ranks for national defence.

"Out of these recent events have come to the United States grave trials and responsibilities. As it was the nation's war, so are its results the nation's problems. Its solution rests upon us all. It is too serious to stifle. It is too earnest for repose. No phrase or catchword can conceal the sacred obligation it involves. No use of epithets, no aspersion of motive by those who differ will contribute to that sober judgment so essential to right conclusions.

"No political outcry can abrogate our treaty of peace with Spain or absolve us from its solemn engagements. It is the people's question and will be until its determination is written out in their enlightened verdict. We must choose between manly doing and base desertion. It will never be the latter. It must be soberly settled in justice and good conscience, and it will be. Righteousness which exalteth a nation must control in its solution.

Imperialism Denounced.—"There can be no imperialism. Those who fear it are against it. Those who have faith in the Republic are against it. So that there is universal abhorrence for it and unanimous opposition to it. Our only difference is that those who do not agree with us have no confidence in the virtue or capacity or high purpose or good faith of this free people as a civilizing agency, while we believe that the century of free government which the American people have enjoyed has not rendered them irresolute and faithless, but has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better condition and larger liberty those distant people who have through the issue of battle become our wards.

"Let us fear not. There is no occasion for faint hearts, no excuse for regrets. Nations do not grow in strength and the cause of liberty and law by the doing of easy things. The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose faith in the soundness and strength of our popular institutions. The liberators will never become the oppressors. A self-governed people will never permit despotism in any government which they foster and defend.

"Gentlemen, we have the new care and cannot shift it. And, breaking up the camp of ease and isolation, let us bravely and hopefully and soberly continue the march of faithful service and falter not until the work is done. It is not possible that seventy-five millions of American freemen are unable to establish liberty and justice and good government in our new possessions. The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden. May God give us strength to bear the one and wisdom so to embrace the other as to carry to our distant acquisitions the guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Later, in his letter accepting the nomination of his party for a second term Mr. McKinley said:

"We have been in possession of Cuba since the first of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquillity. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked, and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education, and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled, and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people.

"An election has been ordered to be held on the fifteenth of September, under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections, to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention, by the same order, is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantee to the people of Cuba.

"We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own local laws,

provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States, and a much larger measure of self-government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country, and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island.

"While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, Congress complied with my recommendation by removing, on May 1, eighty-five per cent of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining fifteen per cent on the first of March, 1902, or earlier if the Legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government. During this intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay a tariff of fifteen per cent of the rates under the Dingley act, and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate. The duties thus paid and collected both in Porto Rico and the United States are paid to the government of Porto Rico, and no part thereof is taken by the national government. All of the duties from November 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the sum of $2,250,523.21, paid at the Custom House in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above-mentioned act of Congress, have gone into the treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes. In addition to this we have made expenditures for relief, education and improvement."

Speaking of the Filipinos the President said: "Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well-being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization, and for the protection of the vast majority of the population, who

welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority whose first demand after the surrender of Manila by the Spanish army was to enter the city, that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous designs.

"Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, dispatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Where could it have gone? What port in the Orient was opened to it? Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of General Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practical moment?

"And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war? Could we have come away at any time between May 1, 1898, and the conclusion of peace without a stain upon our good name? Could we have come away without dishonor at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate of the United States?

"There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified, no power but Congress could surrender our sovereignty or alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The Congress has not seen fit to do one or the other, and the President had no authority to do either if he had been so inclined, which he was not. So long as the sovereignity remains in us it is the duty of the executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty, and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

"With all the exaggerated phrase-making of this electoral contest

we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention. We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made.

"It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

"Are our opponents against the treaty? If so they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty and the Congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation comprised Senators and Representatives of the people of all parties.

"Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should promptly be disclaimed, for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos, that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago; the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized, and the powers of government over all the other people of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

"There were those who, two years ago, were rushing us on to war with Spain, who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequence, as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations which go to

war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations, and when they make treaties must keep them.

"Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified. Imperialism has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is a rock upon which the Republican party was builded, and now rests. Liberty is the great Republican doctrine for which the people went to war, and for which a million lives were offered and billions of dollars were expended to make it a lawful legacy of all, without the consent of master or slave.

"If our opponents would only practice as well as preach the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln, there would be no fear for the safety of our institutions at home or their rightful influence in any territory over which our flag floats. Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by American freemen. The flag of the Republic now floats over these islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the Republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessing of liberty, education and free institutions, or steal away, leaving them to anarchy and imperialism?

"The American question is between duty and desertion—the American verdict will be for duty and against desertion; for the Republic, against both anarchy and imperialism."

XIV.

A SECOND TERM.

As the end of his term approached it came to be felt throughout the country that his renomination was a foregone conclusion. It was universally conceded that he was the best exponent of the policies of the Republican party, and the fact that his party was able to secure a majority in the House in 1898 was regarded as a strong vote of confidence in his administration. It was natural to presume that he would be given the second renomination without hesitation.

When the Republican National Convention met in Philadelphia in June, 1900, no other man was seriously mentioned as a candidate. It was in many respects a remarkable convention. There were no feuds to settle, no factions, no sectional feeling to deal with, and no dark horses. The only matter for consideration was whether Mr. McKinley should be renominated on his record and for his record. On this point it was soon realized that his party was thoroughly united and he was given the honor of a nomination by acclamation. Governor Roosevelt, of New York, a strong running mate, was nominated for Vice-President.

Looking Backward.—In response to the committee which notified him of his nomination he said:

"On a like occasion four years ago I said: 'The party that supplied by legislation the vast revenues for the conduct of our greatest war, that promptly restored the credit of the country at its close, that from its abundant revenues paid off a large share of the debt incurred by this war, and that resumed specie payments and placed our paper currency upon a sound and enduring basis can be safely trusted to preserve both our credit and currency with honor, stability and inviolability. The American people hold the financial honor of our

government as sacred as our flag, and can be relied upon to guard it with the same sleepless vigilance. They hold its preservation above party fealty, and have often demonstrated that party ties avail nothing when the spotless credit of our country is threatened.

"'The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt-paying power to the dollar paid to any government creditor.

"'Our industrial supremacy, our productive capacity, our business and commercial prosperity, our labor and its rewards, our national credit and currency, our proud financial honor and our splendid free citizenship, the birthright of every American, are all involved in the pending campaign, and thus every home in the land is directly and intimately connected with their proper settlement.

"'Our domestic trade must be won back, and our idle working people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. Our home market must be restored to its proud rank of first in the world, and our foreign trade, so precipitately cut off by adverse national legislation, reopened on fair and equitable terms for our surplus agriculture and manufacturing products.

"'Public confidence must be resumed, and the skill, energy and the capital of our country find ample employment at home. The Government of the United States must raise money enough to meet both its current expenses and increasing needs. Its revenues should be so raised as to protect the material interests of our people, with the lightest possible drain upon their resources and maintaining that high standard of civilization which has distinguished our country for more than a century of its existence.

"'The national credit, which has thus far fortunately resisted every assault upon it, must and will be upheld and strengthened. If sufficient revenues are provided for the support of the government there will be no necessity for borrowing money and increasing the public debt.'

Kept the Pledges.—"Three and one half years of legislation and administration have been concluded since these words were spoken. Have those to whom was confided the direction of the government kept their pledges? The record is made up. The people are not unfamiliar with what has been accomplished. The gold standard has been reaffirmed and strengthened. The endless chain has been broken, and the drain upon our gold reserve no longer frets us. The credit of the country has been advanced to the highest place among all nations.

"We are refunding our bonded debt, bearing three and four and five per cent interest, at two per cent, a lower rate than that of any other country, and already more than three hundred millions have been so funded, with a gain to the government of many millions of dollars. Instead of 16 to 1, for which our opponents contended four years ago, legislation has been enacted which, while utilizing all forms of our money, secures one fixed value for every dollar, and that the best known to the civilized world.

"A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenues has been written in public law. We have lower interest and higher wages, more money and fewer mortgages. The world's markets have been opened to American products, which go now where they have never gone before. We have passed from a bond-issuing to a bond-paying nation; from a nation of borrowers to a nation of lenders; from a deficiency in revenue to a surplus; from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment. The public faith has been upheld; public order has been maintained. We have prosperity at home and prestige abroad.

"Unfortunately, the threat of 1896 has just been renewed by the allied parties without abatement or modification. The gold bill has been denounced and its repeal demanded. The menace of 16 to 1, therefore, still hangs over us with all its dire consequences to credit and confidence, to business and industry. The enemies of sound

currency are rallying their scattered forces. The people must once more unite and overcome the advocates of repudiation, and must not relax their energy until the battle for public honor and honest money shall again triumph.

The Tariff.—"A Congress which will sustain and, if need be, strengthen the present law can prevent a financial catastrophe which every lover of the Republic is interested to avert.

"Not satisfied with assaulting the currency and credit of the government, our political adversaries condemn the tariff law enacted at the extra session of Congress in 1897, known as the Dingley Act, passed in obedience to the will of the people, expressed at the election in the preceding November, a law which at once stimulated our industries, opened the idle factories and mines and gave to the laborer and to the farmer fair returns for their toil and investment. Shall we go back to a tariff which brings deficiency in our revenues and destruction to our industrial enterprises?

"Faithful to its pledges in these internal affairs, how has the government discharged its international duties?

"Our platform of 1896 declared 'the Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them.'

"This purpose has been fully accomplished by annexation, and delegates from those beautiful islands have participated in the convention for which you speak to-day. In the great conference of nations at The Hague we reaffirmed before the world the Monroe Doctrine and our adherence to it and our determination not to participate in the complications of Europe. We have happily ended the European alliance in Samoa, securing to ourselves one of the most valuable harbors in the Pacific Ocean, while the open door in China gives to us fair and equal competition in the vast trade of the Orient. Some things have happened which were not promised, nor even foreseen, and our purposes in relation to them must not be left in doubt.

Our Island Possessions.—"A just war has been waged for humanity, and with it have come new problems and responsibilities. Spain has been ejected from the Western Hemisphere and our flag floats over her former territory. Cuba has been liberated and our guarantees to her people will be sacredly executed. A beneficent government has been provided for Porto Rico. The Philippines are ours and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights, no abandonment of our duty. There must be no scuttle policy.

"We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumphs of our arms and by the treaty of peace; by international law; by the nation's sense of honor, and, more than all, by the rights, interests and conditions of the Philippine people themselves. No outside interference blocks the way to peace and a stable government. The obstructionists are here, not elsewhere. They may postpone, but they cannot defeat the realization of the high purposes of this nation to restore order to the islands and to establish a just and generous government, in which the inhabitants shall have the largest participation for which they are capable.

"The organized forces which have been misled into rebellion have been dispersed by our faithful soldiers and sailors, and the people of the islands, delivered from anarchy, pillage and oppression, recognize American sovereignty as the symbol and pledge of peace, justice, law, religious freedom, education, the security of life and property, and the welfare and prosperity of their several communities.

Principle Reasserted.—"We reassert the early principle of the Republican party, sustained by unbroken judicial precedents, that the representatives of the people in Congress assembled have full legislative power over territory belonging to the United States, subject to the fundamental safeguards of liberty, justice and personal rights, and are vested with ample authority to act 'for the highest interests of our nation and the people entrusted to its care.' The doc-

trine, first proclaimed in the cause of freedom, will never be used as a weapon for oppression. I am glad to be assured by you that what we have done in the Far East has the approval of the country.

"The sudden and terrible crisis in China calls for the gravest consideration, and you will not expect from me now any further expression than to say that my best efforts shall be given to the immediate purpose of protecting the lives of our citizens who are in peril, with the ultimate object of the peace and welfare of China, the safeguarding of all our treaty rights, and the maintenance of those principles of impartial intercourse to which the civilized world is pledged. I cannot conclude without congratulating my countrymen upon the strong national sentiment which finds expression in every part of our common country and the increased respect with which the American name is greeted throughout the world.

Moving in Untried Paths.—"We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty. There will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat. No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be. We will perform without fear every national and international obligation."

In his letter of acceptance which shortly followed, and from which I have already quoted, the President made a most gratifying report of what had been accomplished during his administration, and briefly outlined the work that remained to be done. Congress had at last given Alaska a territorial government, for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century; had established a representative government in Hawaii; had enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of the pensioners and their widows; had revived the free homestead policy. In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of $25,000 for the benefit of villages and rural communities, and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many, he said, are already availing themselves of this privilege.

Surplus Revenues.—"During the past year more than nineteen millions of United States bonds have been paid from the surplus revenues of the Treasury, and in addition twenty-five millions of 2 per cents matured, called by the government, are in process of payment. Pacific railroad bonds, issued by the government in aid of the roads in the sum of nearly forty-four million dollars, have been paid since December 31, 1897. The Treasury balance is in satisfactory condition, showing on September 1, $135,419,000, in addition to the $150,000,000 gold reserve held in the Treasury. The government's relations with the Pacific railroads have been substantially closed, $121,421,000 being received from these roads, the greater part in cash and the remainder with ample securities for payments deferred.

Volume of Currency.—"Instead of diminishing, as was predicted four years ago, the volume of our currency is greater per capita than it has ever been. It was $21.10 in 1896. It has increased to $26.50 on July 1, 1900, and $26.85 on September 1, 1900. Our total money on July 1, 1896, was $1,506,434,966; on July 1, 1900, it was $2,062,425,490, and $2,096,683,042 on September 1, 1900.

"Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years; probably more so than they have ever been. Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the Republic. I rejoice that the Southern as well as the Northern States are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions, and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development. The money lender receives lower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been in this country, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshop and the labor producing them have advanced in value.

Foreign Trade.—"Our foreign trade shows a satisfactory and increasing growth. The amount of our exports for the year 1900 over those of the exceptionally prosperous year of 1899 was about half

a million dollars for every day of the year, and these sums have gone into the homes and enterprises of the people. There has been an increase of over $50,000,000 in the exports of agricultural products; $92,692,220 in manufactures, and in the products of the mines of over $10,000,000. Our trade balances cannot fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country. In 1898 we sold abroad $615,432,676 of products more than we bought abroad; in 1899, $529,874,813, and in 1900, $544,471,701, making, during the three years, a total balance in our favor of $1,689,779,190—nearly five times the balance of trade in our favor for the whole period of 108 years from 1790 to June 30, 1897, inclusive.

Gold Stock.—"Four hundred and thirty-six million dollars of gold have been added to the gold stock of the United States since July 1, 1896. The law of March 14, 1900, authorized the refunding into 2 per cent bonds of that part of the public debt represented by the 3 per cents, due in 1908; the 4 per cents, due in 1907, and the 5 per cents, due in 1904, aggregating $840,000,000. More than one-third of the sum of these bonds was refunded in the first three months after the passage of the act, and on September 1 the sum had been increased more than $33,000,000, making in all $330,578,050, resulting in a net saving of over $8,379,520.

"The ordinary receipts of the government for the fiscal year 1900 were $79,827,060 in excess of its expenditures.

Receipts.—"While our receipts both from customs and internal revenue have been greatly increased, our expenditures have been decreasing. Civil and miscellaneous expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, were nearly $14,000,000 less than in 1899, while on the war account there is a decrease of more than $95,000,000. There were required $8,000,000 less to support the navy this year than last, and the expenditures on account of Indians were nearly two and three-quarters million dollars less than in 1899.

"The only two items of increase in the public expenses of 1890

over 1899 are for pensions and interest on the public debt. For 1890 we expended for pensions $139,394,929, and for the fiscal year 1900 our payments on this account amounted to $140,877,316. The net increase of interest on the public debt of 1900 over 1899, required by the war loan, was $263,408.25. While Congress authorized the government to make a war loan of $400,000,000 at the beginning of the war with Spain, only $200,000,000 of bonds were issued, bearing 3 per cent interest, which were promptly and patriotically taken by our citizens.

Reduction of Taxes.—"Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenue or increase our expenditures, the Congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

"Five years ago we were selling government bonds bearing as high as 5 per cent interest. Now we are redeeming them with a bond at par, bearing 2 per cent interest. We are selling our surplus products and lending our surplus money to Europe. One result of our selling to other nations so much more than we have bought from them during the past three years is a radical improvement of our financial relations. The great amounts of capital which have been borrowed of Europe for our rapid, material development have remained a constant drain upon our resources for interest and dividends, and made our money markets liable to constant disturbances by calls for payment or heavy sales of our securities whenever moneyed stringency or panic occurred abroad. We have now been paying these debts and bringing home many of our securities and establishing countervailing credits abroad by our loans, and placing ourselves upon a sure foundation of financial independence.

The Boer War.—"In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer states of South Africa the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality, in accordance with its well-known traditional policy. It did not hesitate, however, when requested by the governments of the South African Republics to exer-

cise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities. It is to be observed that, while the South African Republics made like requests of other powers, the United States is the only one which complied. The British Government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

Extending Foreign Commerce.—"Ninety-one per cent of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign ship owners over $165,000,000. We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world, and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. Our own citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners. I have called the attention of Congress to this subject in my several annual messages. In that of December 6, 1897, I said:

" 'Most desirable from every standpoint of national interest and patriotism is the effort to extend our foreign commerce. To this end our merchant marine should be improved and enlarged. We should do our full share of the carrying trade of the world. We do not do it now. We should be the laggard no longer.'

Progress on the Seas.—"In my message of December 5, 1899, I said:

" 'Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to the country maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among the nations of the earth.

" 'The past year has recorded exceptional activity in our shipyards, and the promises of continued prosperity in shipbuilding are abundant. Advanced legislation for the protection of our seamen has been enacted. Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the government and since, shows results for the last fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any other power.

We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share in the valuable carrying trade of the world.'

"I now reiterate these views.

A Maritime Canal.—"A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our Eastern and Western seaports demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

"Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this government; and it is believed that the next session of Congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

Monopolies.—"Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several States should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained.

Encouraging Labor.—"The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative

employment, and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The last three years have been more satisfactory to American workingmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the government would be disastrous to their highest interests. With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products, employment should continue to wait upon labor, and with the present gold standard the workingman is secured against payments for his labor in a depreciated currency. For labor, a short day is better than a short dollar; one will lighten the burdens, the other lessen the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence, the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age."

Mr. Bryan was again the candidate of the Democratic party, and he had lost little if any of his wonderful popularity. But he was at the disadvantage of opposing a man with a record which had met the approval of a great majority of the American people. The result was that in November Mr. McKinley was elected to a second term by the largest popular vote ever given to any candidate.

XV.

HIS GREATEST SERVICE TO THE NATION.

There can hardly be a question but that Mr. McKinley's greatest service to America, certainly the service which will live longest in the memory of men, was the work which he did towards cementing the sections together. He made the nation one.

His Dearest Wish.—"At the Peace Jubilee at Philadelphia," said Governor Tyler, of Virginia, in his eloquent tribute on the day of the funeral, "I stood by his side as the blue-coated veterans shook his hand. He turned to me with tears in his eyes and said: 'Now, Governor, if we only had a gray-coated Confederate by the side of each one of these the day would be rounded and my happiness complete.'

"I looked him straight in the face and said: 'Do you mean that, Mr. President?'

"'Indeed I do,' answered Mr. McKinley, and he added: 'To see the entire abolition of sectional lines is the dearest wish I have.'

"I will carry that message to my people," said the Governor, and Mr. McKinley with emphasis bade him assure Virginia that the banishment of all sectional feeling was a labor to which he would give his best efforts, and which accomplished would bring him great personal happiness.

Making the nation one was the dominant note of all his public utterances, and the directing impulse of many of his official acts. Before he was nominated he told his intimate friends of his fond ambition to be instrumental in binding the North and South in closer ties of fellowship, and it is undoubtedly true that a united country was the greatest aspiration of his life.

"To realize his ambition," says a recent writer, "the President was happily aided at an opportune moment in our national existence by

the fortunes of war—a war resulting from intervention in behalf of an oppressed people under the yoke of foreign despotism in our own hemisphere. The grizzled warriors of the blue and the gray sprang to arms under the same flag to lead the young volunteers of the North and South against a common foe. The spectacle was one of the most inspiring in history. Sectional rancor was buried with brave hearts in the soil of Santiago and El Caney."

A Union in Reality.—Before McKinley we had the Union in name; to-day we have it in reality. But as the writer whom I have just quoted says: "The bugle call to arms was not to be the one unifying influence in drawing the two sections together. No man before McKinley ever preached so eloquently and earnestly the doctrine of commercial and industrial unity. His voice was lifted for that Union that recognizes a common destiny for all sections of the Republic. He was the South's champion, the advocate of her peerless resources. He believed in the industrial future of the South. For this the South loved him."

Mr. Harry S. Edwards, in the McKinley memorial service, held in Macon, Ga., said:

The Right Man at the Right Moment.—"To every man is given a mission, be he ever so humble; else were life but a purposeless expression of that power which created it. Looking backward through the long perspectives we see dimly how civilization has developed, how the spark of liberty has been guarded and cherished. We see the giant epoch makers of our race struggling in the mists and around them the dumb, formless masses of men surging back and forth in an endless struggle. We catch the faint flash of light where the jewel in the heavenly javelin falls as the angels of God hurl it forward to the new boundaries of freedom. The light grows! that which was a fitful gleam becomes a star, a planet, a sun ablaze in the noonday of our century. With the light came the tumult; and the fight raged about us as it did about our fathers in the ages past; as it will about the

unborn millions when we lay down our weapons and sink into the shadow. Alas, but the sun of liberty looked down, when the smoke lifted, on a saddened people, and the nation writhed in agony as the new epoch struggled to the light. William McKinley found the nation's wounds yet bleeding; the nation's heart charged with bitterness; section arrayed against section, brother against brother. He came with but half the confidence of one section to meet the almost unbroken distrust of another; but he came, at the right moment as the right man always comes, as he always will come to that people chosen of God to carry the standard of liberty and execute His will.

His Mission of Peace.—"As he walked among us, frank, free, trusting and unguarded, with a plea in his voice, honesty in his every lineament, and a manly assurance of friendship in the clasp of his hand, his mission unfolded to the knowledge of men. It was a mission of peace. And he won.

"How well William McKinley understood the Southern heart we know now. Why, look you, fellow citizens, did he ever ask a Southern man to deny his convictions, to recede one step from the principles that governed him? When delay of the first act for the delivery of the millions that suffered under a vicious Old World system became no longer possible, when the cry of humanity could no longer be disregarded by the brave and free, and he laid hand on the sword, did he question the Southern veteran or the South's superb youth as to the flag? Did he question the loyalty of Fitzhugh Lee? Did he put a watch on Brumby, on Bagley, on Winship, on Hobson, or, put other men in their places to make history? When he came into this city and there was placed on his breast a memorial of the cause he had fought did he receive it with a frown? What was it he said in Atlanta, when in his grand appeal for peace he reached the Confederate dead? Listen:

" 'The time has now come in the evolution of sentiment and feeling under the providence of God when in the spirit of fraternity we should share with you in the care of the graves of the Confederate soldiers.

"'The cordial feeling now happily existing between the North and the South prompts this gracious act, and if it needs further justification, it is found in the gallant loyalty to the Union and the Flag, so conspicuously shown in the year just passed by the sons and grandsons of these heroic dead.'

He Knew the South.—"Oh, fellow citizens, he knew you better than at first you knew him. He knew you better than you knew yourselves. His was the genius of intuition. He appealed with confidence to the great, warm, generous heart of the South, to that love of country, that love of home, that love of religion, which find their asylum here to-day as they found it through the century past. He found where your heartstrings were, and touching them with unerring skill, whispered 'America' in the sacred chambers of your life. He won you in spite of politics by the beauty of his superb faith in you and in the ideals you worship. Carrying the sword after a four years' struggle, he broke down the defences of the land; carrying the olive branch, he stormed and won your hearts in a few short days. It was his supreme triumph. It was the South's supreme tribute. No man ever won a greater victory over a people than the victory he has won over you; no victory is destined for a harvest so grand. For where he found distrust, he left faith; where he found strife he left peace; where he found bitterness he left love; and where he found an open wound he poured his dissolving life as a precious ointment to soothe and to heal.

"I speak of his mission as executed; it is not given to man to interpret the ways of God, but surely I may take the words of our dying friend as carrying with them something of that light which the soul gains when it poises for flight where the sunset of life mingles with the dawn of eternity's one matchless day. What was God's way? To whom these strange words, following no utterance save farewell? It seems to me that we may read in them only the realization of a soul that its mission was ended under the decree of the power which

directed it. It seems to me that, as it trembled in the white radiance of its Creator's presence, it turned a moment, still faithful, still thoughtful of the sorrowing millions, in loving explanation. This ended, in loving submission, in words that can never perish from the American heart, he greeted his great Commander. My friends, if there is anything in the faith which sustains the human race in this twentieth century, and I am not here to doubt it, William McKinley died with one hand clasped in ours and the other in the hand of God! There was for him no shadow, no valley of death. He died on the summit of the mountain, as a grand day dies, beyond him the radiant gates of heaven, around him the friendly stars."

His Recognition of Southern Patriotism.—The Washington *Post* has said that Mr. McKinley's attitude toward the South when the war with Spain broke out, in 1898, infused into this purely abstract and intellectual admiration the ingredient of enthusiasm. "Misunderstood for more than thirty years; misrepresented persistently by the professional ex-Confederates, with their noisy announcement of a reconciliation which had long been consummated in the hearts of all serious men; anxious for an opportunity to demonstrate the loyalty they felt in every fibre, they hailed Mr. McKinley's recognition of their genuine patriotism with a gratitude which soon deepened into lasting and sincere affection. How they rallied to the nation's flag is a matter of common knowledge and need not be discussed at this time. The demonstration was spontaneous and, therefore, splendidly impressive. But Southern men will never forget that Mr. McKinley understood them, and to properly appraise their grief over his tragic and untimely death one must consider the effect of that magnanimous act upon a sensitive and proud people. Theirs is a sorrow acute as it is profound. The country may safely assume that they mean all and more than they profess."

Before his first term had come to a close it was realized that he was indeed the President of a united country. The influence of his

example, the power of his position, and all the force of his ability, were constantly given to this end. McKinley's gratification at the fulfillment of so noble an inspiration found voice at Atlanta in these words:

"Reunited—one country again and one country forever! Proclaim if from the press and pulpit; teach it in the schools; write it across the skies! The world sees and feels it; it cheers every heart North and South, and brightens the life of every American home! Let nothing ever strain it again! At peace with all the world and with each other, what can stand in the pathway of our progress and prosperity?"

One Sentiment.—Later, upon the field of Antietam, where he had distinguished himself as commissary-sergeant when a lad of nineteen, the President spoke again upon this subject, and said: "Standing here to-day, one reflection only has crowded my mind—the difference between this scene and that of thirty-eight years ago. Then the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray greeted each other with shot and shell, and visited death upon their respective ranks. We meet, after all these intervening years, with but one sentiment—that of loyalty to the Government of the United States, love of our flag and our free institutions, and determined, men of the North and men of the South, to make any sacrifice for the honor and perpetuity of the American nation."

The Welding of the Nation.—The greatest of all the influences, however, which have brought about the complete union of the nation was his death. The welding of the nation had been going on rapidly throughout his administration, but it was only completed by the shock of the tragedy which ended his life. When tears flow together hearts are welded together. The ambition of his life was reached only by giving up his life.

XVI.

HIS GUARDIAN ANGEL.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne has said that the nation's faith in McKinley was founded on his deep love for his wife. Not long after her marriage Mrs. McKinley became a chronic invalid. She was naturally of a nervous organization, "exquisitely alive to impressions and emotions, but her infirmity removed her in a measure out of the common earthly sphere into a region where spirit seemed to overbalance matter"

The Appeal of Frailty.—To a hard man such a wife would have become a burden, but Mrs. McKinley's frailty appealed to what was noblest and most generous in her husband. "It added to the ordinary husbandly tenderness of his attitude towards her a special reverence as for something sacred and exquisitely beyond common humanity; it prompted him to make her the end and ideal of his life." It was his deepest desire to make her feel—what, indeed, was the very truth—that so far from being a clog upon him, she was in the highest sense more than ever his protector and his good angel; a visible incarnation of the Providence that watched over him and pointed upward.

"The wife of no public man"—I again quote Mr. Hawthorne's beautiful words—"has been closer to the man she loved than he kept her to him. She sat or drove, or stood by his side, within reach of his protecting arm, where his eyes, turning upon her, might meet her own; where his voice, uttering loving words, might reach her ears; where the smile that brightened his face might at the same moment shine from hers. Such was their tender relation and intimacy as they became known to the nation whose Chief Magistrate he rose to be.

His Inspiration.—"Few indeed could personally know Mrs. McKinley. Yet all who knew McKinley were unawares entering

into knowledge of his wife. He manifested her; she inspired the gentleness of his voice and the kindliness of his look; she was luminous in his religious faith; she was visible in that deep humanity which uttered itself so nobly in the word of pity and protection which he spoke in behalf of the wretch who slew him.

"The confidence in the holiness of God's will which broke through the shadows of his latest moments had been kindled at the altar of his love for her; the confidence long since deeply instilled, now avouching its integrity in the supreme trial."

A Beautiful Tribute.—"Do you know Major McKinley?" said Mrs. McKinley to a friend at New Orleans, during the President's tour across the continent.

"Ah, no one can know him, because to appreciate him one must know him as I do, and I am not speaking now of Major McKinley as the President, I am speaking of him as my husband.

"If any one could know what it is to have a wife sick, complaining always, an invalid for twenty-five years, seldom a day well, and yet never a word of unkindness has ever passed his lips. He is just the same tender, thoughtful, kind gentleman I knew when first he came and sought my hand. I know him because I am his wife, and it is my proudest pleasure to say this, not because he is the President, but because he is my husband.

"I love to see him among the people whom he seeks to serve so faithfully. But I dread all his speeches. I only wish that I could help him as I should. But he is so kind, so good, so patient. He gives me all the time he can. He never forgets me, no matter how busy he is.

"But I will be glad when he is out of public life. I did not want him to run a second time. I thought he had done enough for the country, and now I know that he has done enough, and when his term expires he will come home and we will settle down quietly and he will belong to me."

Mrs. Charles Criswold, of Washington, who was, before her mar-

riage, a Canton girl, was often brought into close contact with Mrs. McKinley at the White House and knew her intimately.

Lovers to the End.—"The family life of Mr. and Mrs. McKinley," she said to a reporter, "was beautiful. Such perfect devotion as existed between them is rarely seen. They were like two young lovers to the very end. To the President his wife was always the girl sweetheart whom he had wooed and won so long ago, and terrible as the loss of him must be to that dearly loved wife, it falls no more heavily upon her than her death would have upon him, if it had occurred last spring. At that time Mr. McKinley was completely unnerved. All who knew him said that his wife's death would have been a crushing blow from which he could scarcely have rallied. Illness, trouble, loss of their children and of property only served to draw them more closely together."

Mrs. Criswold said that in spite of her infirmity Mrs. McKinley's nature is a very happy one, and that when alone with her husband and old friends she is as light-hearted and gay as a young girl. She used to relate with glee the story of the remark made by an Irish washerwoman:

"Sure, an' if the thruth was known, me an' the Prisident is blood kin, that we are! Me name is McKinney, and that's the same that his was before he got the stylish end hitched on to it."

In their early married life Mrs. McKinley had often called her husband "Will," and Mrs. Criswold says that sometimes even after his accession to the Presidential chair the old name would slip out.

"I remember once when Mr. McKinley was speaking of a particularly lovely girl who had just made her debut in Washington society, and said that he had often fancied that if his oldest daughter had lived she would have resembled her. Mrs. McKinley was lying on the sofa and, her husband sat near her. When he ceased speaking she stretched out her hand and slipped it into his and said: 'God knew best, Will.'

"As a man, Mr. McKinley was brave, straightforward and honest; as a friend he was generous and loyal. To have seen him and his wife together, and to have enjoyed a personal knowledge of them is a privilege for which I shall never cease to be grateful."

Distinguishing Traits.—Perhaps Mrs. McKinley's most distinguishing trait is her intense love for little children. It was always said in Washington that the woman who brought the prettiest baby was sure to secure from her more attention than the highest diplomat at the Capital. When Mrs. McKinley went to Canton, after the President's house was opened, nearly every child in town was brought to see her. At one time she knew the name of every Canton tot; and she has often confessed with a sigh in late years that she did not know them by name now.

Her Love for Little Children.—"I dislike to hurt their feelings," she would say, "by asking their names."

For years she has been known as "Auntie Kinley" to all the children in Canton. The first question she asks of a child is, "I am your Auntie Kinley, am I not?" And when the child says "Yes," the compact of devotion is at once signed between them. She takes great delight in watching the little ones romping, and when at the White House on Easter Monday, if her health would permit, she would sit at one of the south windows and watch for hours the children of all ages and stations rolling eggs on the lawn—a time-honored custom. Whenever there were children among the guests at the White House, Mrs. McKinley always appropriated them for the time being.

Fondness for Flowers.—Like all lovers of little children, Mrs. McKinley is devoted to flowers, and at the White House took a deep interest in the magnificent conservatories connected with the mansion. She spent much of her time rambling about in the conservatories, and it will be remembered that her favorite photographs have been taken in a particular nook of one of them. Her favorite flowers are pansies and forget-me-nots, although her greatest interest centered in the culti-

vation of the carnations which were transplanted from Mother McKinley's garden at Canton, the blossoms from which were always to be found on the lapel of the President's coat. She loves music, as do all lovers of flowers, and she is especially fond of a fine horse.

Although Mrs. McKinley received an advanced education, and was taught decidedly advanced theories about the sphere of woman, she remains to this day decidely feminine in all her tastes. She has a woman's fondness for rare lace, and she has a choice collection which she began during her visit to Europe in her girlhood. She is very dainty and tasteful in her dress, and very particular about her bonnets, which are exceedingly becoming to her. Largely because of her invalidism, perhaps, she has clung to the occupations of women of a generation ago. She is exceedingly charitable and gives a great deal for the relief of the unfortunate.

Little Slippers by the Thousand.—One of the diversions of the home life of Mrs. McKinley at the White House was found in fancy work, and particularly in crocheting dainty little slippers, which she gave away, it is said, literally by thousands. She once estimated that she had knitted fully four thousand pairs of footwarmers for little ones. Some were given to personal friends, others to charity bazaars and church fairs.

Her life in the White House was exceedingly simple. Her favorite room looked out over the river to Virginia, and here she would sit at the window throughout the morning. In the afternoon she would drive with the President, after which they would dine together very simply.

Everyday Life.—She would never allow her illness to close the doors of the White House to social life, and always kept her receiving days and sat at all the formal dinners with great punctuality. In the evening she would sit in the hall in the wing that leads to the conservatory, always in a great mahogany armchair, and with her knitting needles in her hand. The President would sit there with her

reading his paper or talking to Cabinet officers and Senators who might drop in for a chat. Mrs. McKinley was never excluded from these talks, no matter how much they might deal with momentous questions, for the President made a confidant of her from the very beginning. She talked little and rarely entered into the conversation, but was a good listener. She always had about her a certain quiet manner that comes from great suffering. When she expressed a wish to retire the President would give her his arm and assist her to her room.

A New Side to Her Character.—The announcement that Dr. Rixey, the physician to the Presidential household, had been appointed surgeon-general of the United States Navy by President Roosevelt, in accordance with the expressed wish of Mr. McKinley, brings out a hitherto unknown side of Mrs. McKinley's character.

Speaking of the deep devotion that existed between Mr. McKinley and his wife, a writer in a Boston journal says:

"She, invalid though she may be, has been able to make herself felt in a political way more than once since this administration came in. One instance of particular interest has come into prominence in naval circles. When Surgeon-General Bates, of the navy, died, he had occupied the position only a fortnight, having taken the oath of office on his deathbed; but when his appointment was decided on he was supposed to be good for years of service. The office of surgeon-general is one of the most sought-for billets in the navy. It is supposedly the goal of the ambition of every medical man connected with the service, the occasion of intrigues without end. But, strange to say, Dr. Bates never sought the place, and if the matter had been left to him alone, he would doubtless not have taken it.

"Surgeon-General Tryon, whose services expired this summer, was a candidate for reappointment, and up to very near the time his successor was named, never had suspicion he was not to continue in office. He was to retire in two years on account of age, and entertained

a natural ambition to retire with the rank of commodore, which goes to a surgeon-general actually in office. Nobody grudged him the distinction, and his reappointment was taken for granted. Secretary Long called Tryon to his room and asked him whether there was any other candidate for his place. Tryon had not heard of any.

"'I ask you,' said the Secretary, 'because the President has requested me to let him know when your term expires.'

"This set Tryon to thinking. The first man he met after leaving the Secretary's office was Dr. Bates, the President's physician. Dr. Bates knew of no candidate. He wasn't one himself.

"'But I ought to tell you,' he said, 'that Mrs. McKinley has promised my wife that I shall be appointed, and I suppose the appointment will be made.'

"The oddity of the announcement took Tryon off his feet, especially as he knew Bates was not over-anxious for the place.

"Then Tryon set to work to save himself. He brought all his influence to bear, and this was no small matter, for he had powerful friends; but it was of no avail against the wish of the President's wife."

XVII.

HIS HOME LIFE.

Great as he was as the exponent of the political doctrines which he loved, and as President of the nation, it was in his home life that President McKinley displayed the real beauty of his character. Much of this, of course, is too sacred to be revealed, but a writer in the Louisville *Post* has given us a few glimpses which suggest in an unmistakable way the nobility of the man whom the nation mourns.

"The hackneyed phrase of 'Jeffersonian simplicity,'" he says, "may well be replaced by the more modern one of 'McKinley modesty,' which expresses a word epitome of the homelife of the President.

"This simplicity was sincere, as evident to those who have been associated with him all his life as members of his official family and those who observed him from the public point of view. A quiet smoke, a talk with Mrs. McKinley, a favorite newspaper on a shady piazza, appealed more to the President than did the whirl of the chief executiveship of what he firmly believed to be the greatest nation on earth.

An Unpretentious Cottage.—"While the alterations of his public position were numerous, but little change was made in the domestic and personal life of Mr. and Mrs. McKinley. The home they occupied until Thursday before they left on the deplorable trip to Buffalo is the same unassuming cottage they entered as bride and groom over thirty years ago. The addition of five rooms and the erection of a porte-cochere alters the exterior appearance to a certain degree, but the interior is as simple as plain wood and immaculate paper and hangings can make it.

"In Mrs. McKinley's boudoir the same simple marble mantel graces the apartment, some of the same durable furniture fills the home with sweet and sad memories of the past.

"No President except Washington and Jefferson retained their residences in the same domicile following their elevation to the Presidency, yet it was always the announced intention of President McKinley to end his days in this simple little wooden cottage on North Market street, in Canton.

Humble Beginning.—"Many are the friends of the McKinleys in Washington who recall the humble beginning of the President in the practice of law in Canton. His moral uprightness, his affiliation with the First Methodist Church, his adherence to the principles of honor and fair dealing in his legal practice commended him immediately to the people of the little town, all too ready to recognize weakness in a new resident. So it was not long until William McKinley became known as a leader in affairs of his adopted town."

He Cherished Her.—The same writer says that on the evening of Mr. McKinley's marriage to Ida Saxton, Mrs. Harriet Whiting, a friend of both bride and groom, took Mr. McKinley aside, and said:

"Major, I want to impress one word of this marriage service upon you. It is the word 'cherish.' You are worthy of Ida and she of you, so really cherish each other."

A few months ago, during the nearly fatal illness of Mrs. McKinley in San Francisco, Mrs. Whiting related the conversation and said:

"I told him to cherish her, and he has done it to the full."

This sentence, he says, might also typify the home life of the President, either in Canton or Washington. Immediately after the wedding ceremony the young couple took the cottage they still occupy and have retained it practically ever since. Mr. Saxton, father of Mrs. McKinley, at first objected to his daughter leaving his home, and proposed that the young people remain under the Saxton roof, but the mother, with a keen insight into the young woman's character, said:

"Nothing so brings out the good in a girl as life alone with her husband. If there is strength in Ida, life under her own roof with her mate will bring it to the front."

And so the early trials and triumphs were experienced in the little cottage; here the two little ones were born, and lingered only long enough to leave behind them the pale effulgence of infantile innocence, to bind into one the lives of wife and husband, and give the world the proof of a lasting affection.

Social Tastes.—The social tastes of Mr. and Mrs. McKinley were modest in the extreme, and, as a rule, were limited at home to little musicales, in which the young friends entertained their host and hostess with vocal and instrumental music. The last affair of the kind the President attended was in Canton during the last week he was there.

Since residing at the White House little modification has been made in the mode of living of the McKinleys. The friends of their early married life were invariably received as freely as at Canton. Little evening musicales were arranged, and no matter how busy the President might have been, he always managed to steal a few minutes from official duties to come and sit with Mrs. McKinley for a short time. His own greatest pleasure in life seemed to be in making her happy; he never forgot to "cherish" her, as he promised to do thirty years ago. Their guests for the most part were friends from Ohio—usually nieces and nephews.

One little duty which seemed to give all of the household pleasure was the sending of flowers to all the Washington hospitals at the holidays. The hospitals at Canton were never forgotten, either, and personal friends in Washington, Canton and Chicago were in frequent receipt of floral remembrances from the White House conservatories when bedridden with illness.

The great dread of the President in entering the White House were the drafts which were reported to sweep through the wide corridors and apartments. The day before his first inauguration he read aloud to a party of friends an article declaring that Mrs. McKinley could not survive a year in such a domicile. There was a marked

vein of sarcasm in his voice as he read the lines, but he evidently thought of the matter and instructed an architect to prepare plans by which the drafts might be obviated. This was successfully done, to the great relief of all who were cognizant of the real condition of his wife. Few social functions, aside from those demanded officially, have marked the four and a half years at the Executive Mansion. The great thought seemed to be the avoidance of ostentation and the preservation of the sweet domestic relation which has endeared the McKinleys to all thinking people.

Mother McKinley's Faith in Her Son.—An incident is related to illustrate the simple faith the mother of the President reposed in her great son. It was on the evening of his first election to the Presidency. A party of friends were expressing their confidence in his selection, when one, to guard against the possible disappointment of a defeat, said:

"Of course, he may be beaten."

Drawing herself to her full height, the mother of this great man said simply, yet authoritatively:

"It makes little difference. He will still be my son."

And she would have been satisfied to have him as her own, without the honor of Chief Magistrate.

Notwithstanding the great simplicity of the home life and small social functions of the President's private household, the American people have never had a President who so ably acquitted himself at the great social receptions and dinners that the exalted position of the Presidency demanded. Upon the occasion of brilliant official dinners, no amount of form or display was omitted that would add to the beauty and appropriateness of the occasion.

Not even Washington, who instituted many customs which prevail to this day, knew better or appreciated more, what the American people expected and admired in the President than did William McKinley.

The manner in which the diplomatic guests were entertained and

seated at table was often at the personal suggestion of the President. He never failed to visit the dining-room in company with Mrs. McKinley before the guests arrived. Even at the last moment he has been known to change the location of some diplomat at table on account of some small disparity of opinion or a personal dislike that he knew existed as to the affairs of the countries represented.

When some noted guest, the representative of a foreign nation, was to be entertained, the President especially had as formal an array as possible with the somewhat limited facilities at the White House, that the true dignity of the position bestowed upon him by his countrymen might be appreciated.

In meeting the public at receptions, again the simplicity, but great dignity, of the President asserted itself, and while affable and agreeable, extending to all a wholesome, hospitable greeting, he never once lost his sense of the lofty position to which he had been exalted, and those who met him never forgot that he was the President.

XVIII.

HIS LAST SPEECH.

On Thursday before the fatal day the President delivered an address at the Buffalo Exposition which is so significant in many ways that I cannot refrain from quoting it here in full:

Timekeepers of Progress.—"Expositions," he said, "are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts and even the whims of the people, and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and new prices to win their favor. The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth century would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

"My fellow citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and

that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability. That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

A Broad and Enlightened Policy.—"We have a vast and intricate business, built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such great proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

A Mutual Exchange of Commodities.—"By sensible trade arrangements, which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities, is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers

such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The Pressing Problem.—"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

"If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad? Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific Coast ports of the United States and those on the Western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the Eastern coast of the United States and South American ports.

Need of Direct Commercial Lines to New Fields.—"One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the convenience to carry it to the buyer. We must encourage our merchant-marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go. We must build the Isthmian canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water com-

munication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

A Tribute to Blaine.—"In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the New World. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement which finds this practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American Congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico. The good work will go on. It cannot be stopped. These buildings will disappear; this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to

> "'Make it live beyond its too short living,
> With praises and thanksgiving.'

Immortal Words.—"Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired and the high achievements that will be wrought through this exposition? Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come, not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but, more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence and friendship which will deepen and endure.

"Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth."

XIX.

THE SHOT THAT SHOCKED THE WORLD.

On the twenty-ninth of April, 1901, a few weeks after his inauguration for a second term, the President, accompanied by his wife and a party of friends, started on a tour across the continent.

His Triumphial Tour.—From beginning to end the tour was one great triumph. Never before had there been accorded to any President a welcome so cordial from all classes of people in all sections. Everywhere he went he sang the sweet song of American prosperity to willing ears and everywhere he was received with remarkable demonstrations of good will. He had won the hearts of the people—all of the people—and it was realized as never before that he was the President of all the people. This tour, which was marred by the serious illness of Mrs. McKinley in California, created so much enthusiasm that politicians began to talk of a third term. With his usual frankness he expressed his wishes about the matter in no uncertain terms:

No Third Term.—"I regret," he wrote, "that the subject of a third term has been made. I doubt whether I am called upon to give it notice. But there are now questions of the greatest importance before the Administration and the country, and their just consideration should not be prejudiced in the public mind by even the suspicion of the thought of a third term. In view, therefore, of the reiteration of the suggestion of it, I will say now, once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I not only am not and will not be a candidate for a third term, but would not accept a nomination for it, if it were tendered me.

"My only ambition is to serve through my second term to the acceptance of my countrymen, whose generous confidence I so deeply

appreciate, and then with them do my duty in the ranks of private citizenship."

President's Day at the Exposition.—Shortly after returning to Washington the President and his wife moved to Canton for the summer. The fifth of September was President's Day at the Buffalo Exposition. President McKinley with Mrs. McKinley at his side and surrounded by eminent persons of high official rank in the service of this and other countries, faced a vast throng on the Esplanade at noon and delivered an address that was received with tumultuous applause.

The Tragedy.—The following day he held a reception in the Temple of Music. It was shortly after four o'clock. He was in a noticeably cheerful mood and seemed to be taking unusual pleasure in the cordial expressions of good will with which he was greeted. A little girl stepped forward in the line and stretched out her hand. The President took it and patting her affectionately on the head turned to the next comer. He was a man of medium size who had the air of a respectable mechanic. As he came forward it was noticed that his hand was swathed in a handkerchief as if to hide a wound. No one dreamed of danger. Secret service men stood around the Chief Executive, but it was only the usual precaution.

A Modern Iscariot.—Mr. McKinley smiled and extended his hand. Instead of grasping it the fellow threw forward his bandaged hand and with the other brushed aside the President's arm. Instantly a shot rang out; then another. The President was seen to raise his right hand to his chest while a look of bewilderment passed over his face. His eyes settled upon the man before him.

"That look," said an eye witness, "I can never describe, but I'll never forget it."

The next moment the wounded man sank back into the arms of his secretary.

"Cortelyou," he gasped, and the secretary bent over him.

"Cortelyou, my wife. Be careful about her. Don't let her know."

A Sublime Exhibition of Moral Grandeur.—As he turned about in his pain his eyes fell upon his would-be murderer lying on the floor in the clutches of the officers. Raising his right hand and placing it on the shoulder of the secretary, he whispered:

"Let no one hurt him," and then sank back into his chair.

As has been often remarked, there is no finer instance of moral grandeur in all history than is to be found in this simple recital. That the President, in his hour of agony, should have given his first thought to his dear wife was beautiful, as all promptings of real love must be; that his second feeling should have been one of pity and anxiety for the wretch who, without cause or provocation had done him to death, places him forever upon a plane of moral altitude infinitely removed from that attained by the average man.

The Mexican Ambassador broke through the crowd and rushing up cried:

"My God! Mr. President, are you shot?"

He seemed about to throw himself at his feet but was restrained, and Mr. McKinley answered in a hesitating voice:

"Yes, I believe I am."

A few moments later as he was being carried away to the ambulance he turned to Mr. Milburn, the President of the Exposition, and said:

"I am sorry to have been the cause of trouble to the Exposition."

A Crazed Multitude.—The scene which followed beggars description. For a moment the vast throng stood still in a daze; then it dawned upon those around the President that the bandaged hand carried not a wound but a revolver, and instantly a dozen men sprang toward the assassin. Two secret service men seized him and a negro confronted him and struck him three times in the face. There was a fierce struggle in which the negro and the assassin rolled over together on the floor, but in a few moments the officers managed to pull the

prisoner off to a side room to the northwest corner of the Temple. In the meantime the great crowd had utterly lost its head and there was a wild, mighty roar as part of the throng rushed toward the President, others toward the prisoner, while others ran screaming from the building. The news spread quickly over the grounds and in a few moments fifty thousand people had gathered. The crowd followed the ambulance to the hospital and then divided, one part remaining to learn the condition of the President, the other hastening away to find the assassin.

Arrest of the Assassin.—Czolgosz, for that was his real name, though he first gave the name of Nieman, was kept in the Temple until a company of soldiers had been summoned, when he was placed in a carriage and driven off. The great throng followed him with cries of "Lynch him!" Men sprang at the horses and clutched at the wheels of the carriage while the assassin huddled back between two detectives. Soldiers fought their way at the heads of the horses and the carriage hurled across the Esplanade and out of the grounds to the police headquarters. Throughout the night the crowd remained about the police station and it was only when announced that hope was entertained for the life of the President that it slowly dispersed.

An Anarchist.—Czolgosz was searched, but nothing was found upon him except a letter relating to lodging. The officers questioned him and at first he refused to say anything except to admit that he attempted to kill the President, and that he was an Anarchist. Little by little bits of information were gotten from him until the police got the impression that he was one of a gang of Anarchists who had plotted the crime, and that he had been drawn by lot to kill the President. Later he declared that he alone was responsible for the deed, and that he was induced by the teachings of Emma Goldman, a notorious Anarchist incendiary, to decide that the present form of government of this country was all wrong, and that the best way to end it was by the killing of the President.

The President's Wound.—While the crowd was threatening the life of the assassin, messengers were hurrying to bring to the President's side the best surgeons that could be secured. Within thirty seconds, it is said, six doctors, who happened to be on the grounds, were at hand. In the hospital the President was stripped, and it was soon seen that an operation was necessary.

When he was placed upon the operating table Dr. Mann said:

"Mr. President, we intend to cut into you at once. We allowed one President to die, but we don't intend to lose you."

"I am in your hands," murmured the President.

The story is told by an eye-witness. The doctors were ready to administer ether. The President opened his eyes and saw that he was about to enter a sleep from which he might never wake. He turned his great hazel eyes sorrowfully upon the little group. Then he closed his lips. His white face was suddenly lit by a tender smile. His soul came into his countenance. The wan lips moved. A singular and almost supernatural beauty possessed him, mild, childlike and serene. The surgeons paused to listen.

"Thy Will Be Done."—"Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done." The voice was soft and clear. The tears rolled down Dr. Mynter's face. The President raised his chest and sighed. His lips moved once more.

"Thy will be done—"

Dr. Mann paused with the keen knife in his hand. There was a lump in his throat.

"For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory."

The eyelids fluttered faintly, beads of cold sweat stood on the bloodless brow—there was silence. Then science succeeded prayer.

The Operation.—The operation was signally successful; the President's respiration remained normal throughout, and it was stated that the only danger would be from complications that might afterwards arise. Mr. McKinley showed no indication of having suffered from the shock or the operation.

When it was learned that his wounds were not necessarily fatal the house of President Milburn was placed at the disposal of the patient, and it was at once transformed into a well-guarded sanitarium with every facility for caring for the wounded man.

A Heroic Wife.—Mrs. McKinley, after the first burst of grief, showed wonderful self-control, though probably the whole truth was not told her. On Sunday afternoon the President asked to see her and she was allowed to enter the sick room. She seated herself beside his bed and took his hand. Then President McKinley said quietly:

"We must bear up. It will be better for us both."

His wife bowed her head and quickly left the room.

A Terror-Stricken People.—When the news of the attempted assassination was flashed across the continent it struck a chill to the heart of the whole nation. Everywhere men grew dizzy and faint, and then recovering from their bewilderment sent up a great cry of horror and indignation. The consternation spread through every village and hamlet in the land. Nowhere were there signs of deeper grief than in the South, where the President was universally loved. The first meeting that was called to pray for his recovery was held in Richmond, Va., the morning after the shooting. The Virginia Constitutional Convention adjourned for a day, after passing resolutions declaring that "the convention views with horror and execration the blow that has been struck at the entire nation in the person of its Chief Magistrate."

Sympathy of Confederate Veterans.—Camps of Confederate veterans all over the South called special meetings, and passed resolutions of sympathy for the President who as a citizen had placed before the people a personal character which commanded respect, and who "in his relations to the veterans of the Confederate armies, has evinced a spirit of chivalric gallantry we can but admire." To quote the words of one of these resolutions, "our prayers with those of all good citizens will go up in an appeal to God for the restoration of the President, who, even in this distressing misfortune, draws together in closer bonds of union the good, the true and the brave of all sections of our country."

Throughout the land the people were so stunned by the news that business was almost suspended for the day. In Canada there were almost as many demonstrations of grief as in the United States.

How the News Was Received in England.—The effect abroad was almost as profound. "The shot that struck the American President," wrote Mr. William Stead, "was felt throughout the British Empire with a shock, while horror and indignation followed. It made the whole English nation feel as it had never felt before the unity of the English race. The race which was politically cleft in twain by the folly of George III., is now reunited in sympathy and in community of interests."

"England Prays for McKinley," was printed in great black type across the front page of the *London Evening Star.*

The *Evening News* said: "That he may be spared is the prayer of every Englishman throughout the Empire."

The *Sun* said: "The abhorrent crime was committed from mere wantonness."

The *Echo* eulogized the personal traits of the President as those upon which Englishmen could dwell with unaffected appreciation.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* said: "It is not too much to say that the whole Anglo-Saxon race is kneeling at the President's bedside."

Telegrams of inquiry and sympathy poured into London from every part of the empire. United States Ambassador Choate wrote that the citizens of London had received with profound regret and great indignation intelligence of the dastardly attack, and desired to convey their sincere sympathy to America in the melancholy event.

The proceedings of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference were suspended for the purpose of hearing read the telegrams concerning the condition of the President, and special prayers were offered for the preservation of his life.

King Edward, Lord Roberts and the mayors throughout Great Britain sent messages of sympathy to Mrs. McKinley. The feeling

throughout the empire was only second to that which followed the death of Queen Victoria.

Sympathy Throughout the World.—The news was received with many expressions of horror and indignation in all the great capitals of the world, and messages were sent to Washington and to Mrs. McKinley from nearly every civilized court on earth. The German Emperor and Empress and the President of France were among the first to tender sympathy.

XX.

A WORLD IN TEARS.

Monday, the third day after the tragedy, which was regarded as the crucial period, was awaited with intense anxiety, and the whole country was relieved by the physicians' bulletin, which declared it to be a day of steady progress. On Tuesday it was stated that convalescence had begun, and that every one around the President and the President himself was sanguine of his ultimate return to health. So sure were those around him of his ultimate recovery that Vice-President Roosevelt and several members of the official family took their departure. Reports during the next few days told of apparent progress; then came a note of alarm. Bulletins announced that the President's condition was without material change except that he suffered from fatigue. "Fatigue" was a new word, and fear gnawed at the hearts of the people.

Early Friday morning, when he was growing rapidly worse, his grand love for nature asserted itself. "I want to see the trees," he said; "they are so beautiful."

"Towards noon," writes Mr. Cromwell, "when Dr. Rixey was at his bedside, he cast his eyes up at his faithful friend and murmured, 'It is very gloomy, doctor! How different from yesterday. Is the sunshine all gone?'

"It was going, for him—mortal sunshine—and ere another dawn it had gone from a nation. Shortly afterward he sank into unconsciousness. When he awoke from his stupor, about seven o'clock, it was to take an earthly farewell of her whom he loved best. His first thought was of his darling, his 'Idy,' and he faintly asked to see her. She was led to his side, and together they were left alone What passed in those, the holiest moments they ever spent together, no mortal mind

will ever know. She had taken his hand when she entered and he had looked at her with the same old look she knew so well, wherein heart, soul, being beamed the message of devotion. Who shall know with what tenderness he faintly breathed words to encourage and comfort her? Who shall know, but God, the joint prayers they offered in the sanctuary of death? She was led away, and he lapsed into unconsciousness again."

On returning to consciousness he would call for his wife, and her presence at his side seemed to soothe him.

His lips were seen to move, and an attendant bending over him heard him feebly trying to chant "Nearer, My God, to Thee." A little later he said:

"Good-bye! all; good-bye! It's God's way. His will be done."

Then he lapsed into unconsciousness and life began to flicker. The pulse had almost ceased. Still he lingered, though every moment they expected him to go. Finally, when the night was wearing away, at 2.30 o'clock Saturday, September 14, 1901, he passed from among us.

"History," says Mr. Cromwell, "teems with recitals of the circumstances attending the lives of the great, but as the burial of Moses stands out in solemn grandeur beyond all others, so the death of McKinley is unparalleled in the mortuary records of the great. Every characteristic of a grand nature was shown in some accentuated form during that brief period of eight days."

At the autopsy it was found that there had been no evidence of any attempt at repair on the part of nature, and death resulted from gangrene which affected the stomach and the bullet wounds, as well as the tissue around the further course of the bullet. "Death was unavoidable by any surgical or medical treatment, and was the direct result of the bullet wound."

At the moment the martyred President's soul took its flight, a man standing at a telephone in Buffalo cried:

"The President is dead!"

The 'phone was connected with all the large cities of the country, and instantly the bells all over the land began to toll. The scenes which followed can never be described. Multitudes of strong men who had stood waiting through the night in the streets of cities thousands of miles away broke down and cried aloud like little children.

The Nations Mourn.—The news was received abroad with the most remarkable demonstrations of grief. In England the morning papers appeared in mourning, and contained dispatches showing that the whole world mourned with America. King Edward, after sending a message of sympathy to Buffalo, ordered his court in mourning for seven days. In London formal signs of grief were displayed on thousands of buildings, and great throngs of people called upon the American Ambassador to express their heartfelt sympathy. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent a dispatch to Ambassador Choate, expressing in behalf of the Church of England the deep grief with which it had heard of the death of the President. "The loss of so great a ruler," he said, "is a calamity to the whole world. The triumph of wickedness fills us with sorrow. Our prayer and good-will will be an earnest for the American people."

The Lord Mayor of London wrote to the Ambassador that the citizens of London were profoundly moved and deeply affected by the sad intelligence, and begged in their name to tender "heartfelt sympathy to be conveyed to Mrs. McKinley and the people of the United States. The eminent career and public services of Mr. McKinley," he said, "are widely appreciated here, and will long be remembered by the British people, who, having themselves sustained the loss of a beloved sovereign, more keenly sympathize with the United States in the sudden removal of their distinguished President."

The Lord Chief Justice of England, on behalf of the Judges of Great Britain, said: "May God guide the nation, and lead others to follow the high example of the noble life set by him whose death the world mourns."

Lord Pauncefote said: "The President will be mourned throughout the civilized world. I am at a loss to express my sorrow on public and private grounds and my profound sympathy with the American nation in its affliction."

On Sunday, the day after his death, the "Dead March in Saul" was played in hundreds of churches throughout Great Britain, while the people reverently stood in honor of the memory of the dead President. A minister in Wales, while speaking of Mr. McKinley's death, was so overcome that he swooned in the pulpit and had to be taken home.

Sympathy on the Continent.—The German Emperor cabled a message of sympathy, and ordered the flags on all government buildings at half-mast. Various entertainments were canceled throughout Germany and arrangements were made for memorial services. Multitudes, including many notable German personages, called at the American Embassy and tendered their sympathy. The chamber of commerce and other great bodies of the land met and adopted resolutions appreciative of the dead President.

There were demonstrations of sorrow throughout France, and the President of the French nation sent a message of sympathy to Mrs. McKinley.

A dispatch from Rome stated that the Pope wept with uncontrollable emotion on receiving the news of the President's death, and that he spent an hour during the day praying for his soul. All the audiences at the Vatican were suspended.

From nearly every capital on earth there came a message of sympathy.

XXI.

THE LAST SAD RITES.

On Sunday morning, September 15, a private funeral service was held in the Milburn home in Buffalo. It was marked by an absence of pomp, which was typical of the unostentatious life of the dead President. Scarcely two hundred persons were present, including the new President, Mr. Roosevelt, his Cabinet, members of the family of the deceased, and a few intimate friends. The services were brief and simple. At the close there was a solemn hush; for a moment no one moved.

Senator Hanna's Farewell.—"Then a man," says one who witnessed the scene, "who seemed suddenly to have grown old, arose from his seat beside Governor Odell and slowly walked alone past the line of Cabinet officers to the side of the new President. His hands clasped behind his back, his head bent down on his great chest, Senator Hanna stood and gazed for the last time on the face of the man he loved.

"It seemed to the mourners that he stood looking down at his dear friend's face for fully five minutes—in reality it was nearly two minutes—before he turned and slowly, sadly retraced his steps across the room. His eyes were suffused with tears, and on his face was a drawn, haggard look that was almost startling in its intensity. His were the last eyes to look on the face of the martyred President in the house where he had died."

As Senator Hanna turned away the casket was closed, and the body-bearers, four soldiers and four sailors, advanced, and lifting it gently on their broad shoulders, slowly began their solemn march to the hearse, which stood waiting outside. Close behind the casket followed President Roosevelt, with Secretary Root on his left and the other members of the Cabinet following. Slowly they made their way

out of the hall, down the steps and down the walk to the hearse, while a band posted across the street softly played "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

Lying in State.—The procession moved through a vast throng to the City Hall, where the body, lying in state, was viewed by fully one hundred and fifty thousand people. There were many affecting incidents as the tearful throng passed the casket. Toward the end of the afternoon a band of Indians from the Exposition, in their blankets and feathers, followed by their squaws, filed by. They had come to see the Great Father. A few hours before they had sent a wreath of purple asters, accompanied by a pathetic inscription:

"Farewell of Chief Geronimo, Blue Horse, Flat Iron and Red Shirt and the seven hundred braves of the Indian Congress. Like Lincoln and Garfield, President McKinley never abused authority except on the side of mercy. The martyred great white chief will stand in memory next to the Saviour of mankind. We loved him living; we love him still."

As they passed each of them dropped a white carnation upon the President's coffin.

The Start for Washington.—Early Monday morning the casket was taken from the City Hall and carried to the train for the journey to Washington. Although it was hardly seven o'clock the streets along the route were jammed with struggling masses. The procession was headed by a squad of sailors, and behind them came the hearse under the guard of a file of marines. A great crowd was gathered around the station. The coffin was placed on a bier in an observation car, whiled the band played "Nearer, My God, to Thee," the hymn that was to be played and sung thousands of times before the body should reach the distant tomb.

The catafalque had been raised so high that the casket was visible from the roadside. It was entirely draped in a great flag, only a sheaf of ripened grain resting on the top. There were many floral wreaths,

but they were hung around the coffin. Only the car containing the casket was draped and the engine, which was covered with closely plaited crape.

Sorrow Everywhere.—Through every city and hamlet that the train passed some emblem of sorrow was shown. In the busy places all occupations ceased, and man and woman, boy and girl, went forth to do sad homage. In the remotest spots where human kind was scarcely suspected, uncouth and often solitary figures stood uncovered and watched with blank and ignorant regret. There was no place where living creatures gathered that did not in some sense, however vague, feel grief and manifest it in an outward token. In many places for hundreds of yards fair women had strewn the track with roses. There were twelve long hours of tolling bells and glimpses of thousands and thousands of men, women and children drawn up in line along both sides of the track, of crape-bound banners and of flowers, and the sound of muffled drum-beats, and the solemn notes of "Nearer, My God, to Thee," and everywhere bared and bowed heads and faces that showed the impress of an unspeakable sorrow.

The Last Night at the White House.—It was night when the train reached Washington. It entered silently without the clanging of bells or disturbing escape of steam. As the casket was placed in the hearse the bugle sounded "taps" and the troops presented arms. A solemn procession followed the body to the White House, where it was taken in response to Mrs. McKinley's request that he might spend one night there before he was laid to his final rest.

The Vigil.—All through the night a sentry paced back and forth on the portico, while in the East room, with its dim-burning lights and great black coffin, the guard of honor stood motionless in its watch over the dead.

Tuesday morning opened drearily enough, with clouds hanging like a pall over the city. The people began to gather early, and by nine o'clock, when the procession started, the streets were jammed with

a sorrowing multitude. The body-bearers silently raised the coffin to their shoulders and moved toward the main door of the White House. Instantly the band began to play "Nearer, My God, to Thee." Slowly down the driveway, through a dreary, drizzling rain, the procession wound its way to the gate, and for a moment halted while the Artillery Band began the "Dead March in Saul." The blast from a bugle sounded, and the procession moved on its way to the Capitol.

At the Capitol.—At 10.12 the head of the procession reached the Capitol plaza. As the hearse halted in front of the main stairway the troops presented arms. The guard of honor ascended the steps, the naval officers on the right and the army officers on the left, forming a cordon on each side. Behind them were ranks of artillerymen, seamen and marines. As the body-bearers drew the coffin from the hearse every head in the great throng was bared, and the bands played "Nearer, My God, to Thee." With solemn tread the bearers ascended the stairway and bore the casket to the catafalque in the rotunda.

The State Funeral.—The funeral services were simple but exceedingly impressive, the military feature being preserved in every particular except in the matter of the funeral oration, which was delivered by Bishop Andrews. The ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which he was a member, was adhered to throughout.

When all were seated a solemn hush fell upon the audience, and the choir sang softly "Lead, Kindly Light." The Rev. Dr. Naylor, Presiding Elder of the Washington District of the Methodist Episcopal Church, delivered the invocation. The lessons were then read, and the choir sang "Some Time We'll Understand." Then Bishop Andrews, the lifelong friend of Mr. McKinley, arose, and, taking his place at the head of the coffin, delivered the sermon. In his delineation of the character of the dead President, which was extremely touching, he said:

A Touching Tribute.—"The kindly, calm and equitable temperament, the kindly and generous heart, the love of justice and right

and the tendency toward faith and loyalty to unseen powers and authorities—these things have been with him from his childhood, from his infancy, but upon them supervened the training for which he was always tenderly thankful and of which even this great nation from sea to sea continually has taken note.

"It was an humble home in which he was born. Narrow conditions were around him; but faith in God had lifted that lowly roof, according to the statement of some great writer, up to the very heavens, and permitted its inmates to behold the things eternal, immortal and divine, and he came under that training.

His Reverence for His Mother.—"It is a beautiful thing that to the end of his life he bent reverently before that mother whose examples and teaching and prayer had so fashioned his mind and all his aims. The school came but briefly, and then came to him the church with ministration of power. He accepted the truth which it taught. He believed in God and in Jesus Christ, through whom God was revealed. He accepted the divine law of the Scripture; he based his hope on Jesus Christ, the appointed and only Redeemer of man, and the church, beginning its operation upon his character at an early period of his life, continued even to his close to mould him. He waited attentively upon its ministrations. He spoke with his brethren of the sympathies of mysterious passion and redeeming love of the Lord Jesus Christ. He was helpful in all of those beneficiencies and activities, and from the church to the close of his life he received inspiration that lifted him above much trouble and weakness incident to our human nature, and, blessings be to God, may we say, in the last and final hour, they enabled him confidently, tenderly, to say, 'It is His will, not ours; Thy will be done.'

No Stain Upon His Escutcheon.—"Such influences gave to us William McKinley. And what was he? A man of incorruptible personal and political integrity. I suppose no one ever attempted to approach him in the way of a bribe; and we remember, with great

felicitation at this time, for such an example to our services that when great financial difficulties and perils encompassed him, he determined to deliver all he possessed to his creditors; that there should be no challenges of his perfect honesty in the matter. A man of immaculate purity shall we say? No stain was upon his escutcheon; no syllable of suspicion that I ever heard was whispered against his character. He walked in perfect and noble control. Beyond that this man had somehow wrought in him—I suppose on the foundations of a very happily constructed nature—a great and generous love for his fellowmen. He believed in men. He had himself been brought up among the common people. He knew their labors, struggles, necessities."

The Bishop's concluding words will never be forgotten:

Memorable Words.—"If there is a personal immortality before him, let us also rejoice that there is an immortality and memory in the hearts of a large and ever-growing people, who, through the ages to come, the generations that are yet to be, will look back upon this life, upon its nobility and purity and service to humanity, and thank God for it. The years draw on when his name shall be counted among the illustrious of the earth. William of Orange is not dead. Cromwell is not dead. Washington lives in the hearts and lives of his countrymen. Lincoln with his infinite sorrow lives to teach us and lead us on. And McKinley shall summon all statesmen and all his countrymen to purer living, nobler aims, sweeter faith and immortal blessedness."

As he closed the entire audience joined in singing "Nearer, My God, to Thee." In the midst of the singing Admiral Evans advanced and placed a beautiful blue floral cross at the foot of the coffin. It was from ex-President Cleveland. Then the Benediction was pronounced by Dr. Chapman, and after a pause for a few moments the assemblage began to withdraw. The people who remained in the rotunda were now formed in lines to view the features of the dead President. At each corner of the catafalque a sailor took his station and stood at attention, motionless, while on either side eight marines were drawn

up. The crowd passed in single file on either side of the bier. There was a thrill of pity in the heart of every one, so changed were the features from those which had been known in life; and those who had known him intimately could not refrain from tears. "How pitiful!" they whispered as they passed.

A Last Look.—Later the doors were opened, and from that time until six o'clock a vast unbroken stream of mourners passed the coffin. They poured through the rotunda in thousands, and when at 6.25 the doors were closed there were still many thousands struggling to get in. Several times the throng was swept into confusion, and in the struggle many were thrown under the feet of the mass.

The Last Journey.—After the doors were closed the guards who had all the day held back the crowd were permitted to look at the face of the President, and then the cover of the casket was screwed down and lifted once more upon the shoulders of the body-bearers. As they descended the broad stairway the time was marked by minute guns, stationed in the Capitol grounds. The coffin was placed in the hearse, and was escorted on its journey to the station by a committee from the army and navy and two squadrons of cavalry.

At 8.20 o'clock the funeral train started from the Pennsylvania Depot on its final journey. Along the track were gathered hundreds of thousands of sorrowing people. In the observation car the coffin, which was in full sight, was surrounded by great banks of floral offerings. The guards who stood on either side of the bier were knee-deep in flowers. In the rear section of the car the marines and soldiery sat motionless, with folded arms.

Sorrowing Onlookers.—As the train went flying past the villages and hamlets there were the same demonstrations of affection and grief that had marked the journey from Buffalo. Though the rain fell unceasingly, and though the train went so fast that the people could scarcely catch a glimpse of the bier, yet the throng stood waiting in the night and watching, simply to uncover their heads in expression of their grief.

Home Again.—It was noon on Wednesday when the funeral train rolled into Canton. Its approach was unheralded. No whistle was blown, and there was no panting of the exhaust pipes. At the mere sight of the train the crowd that had been waiting for hours broke down and sobbed. When the engine came to a standstill, Judge Day and the Committee of Reception moved down the platform to the catafalque car and waited. Mrs. McKinley, overwhelmed with a fresh burst of grief, was helped from the train and hurried to a carriage and driven rapidly to her home. The coffin was lifted from the car and carried to the waiting hearse. Mr. McKinley was home again.

"This is the most beautiful street in the world," he had said to a friend the day before leaving for Buffalo. And he added, "I shall spend the rest of the summer here very happily."

He had come back to spend the rest of the summer.

The soldiers presented arms and the bugles sounded taps. President Roosevelt and his Cabinet entered carriages. Then came the guard of honor in full uniform, and the procession moved toward the Court House through dense masses of weeping people. Here the body lay in state until night.

The collection of floral tributes had now grown to be the largest ever seen in America. The conservatories of the whole country had been taxed to supply them. The great monarchs of the world, the presidents of republics, the governors of distant colonies had cabled directions to adorn the bier of the dead President with the sweetest and most fragrant of flowers. Numerous as these tributes were, however, they were scarcely noticeable by the side of the tons of flowers that had been sent by the President's own countrymen. It is said that a list of those who sent them would be almost a complete roster of all the prominent people in official, commercial and social life in America. Among these tributes was a cradle made of white roses, which was brought in a procession of one hundred men and women from Niles, where Mr. McKinley was born.

Among Those Who Loved Him Best.—When everything was ready for the people of Canton to take a last look at the face of their best loved citizen, Joseph Saxton, uncle of Mrs. McKinley, a man bowed deeply with the weight of years, entered from the east hall and stood by the casket gazing into the face of his distinguished kinsman. It was a touching sight. Then the door was opened and the people began to file past. By night practically the entire population of Canton had passed the bier.

A Touching Incident.—Many pathetic incidents occurred. A little girl in passing stopped to press a kiss upon the glass and then ran away with streaming eyes. One of the guards thought he saw her drop something, and looked. He found, hidden away among the costly wreaths, a little cluster of common garden flowers, and through it was tied with a piece of thread a note written in a childish hand:

"Dear Mr. McKinley: I wish I could send you some prettier flowers, but these are all I have. I am sorry you got shot."

At six o'clock the doors were closed and the body was removed to the McKinley home. Mrs. McKinley had expressed a desire that he should spend one more night there.

Canton was grieving for the loss of the man, not the President. The newspaper correspondents found the town brimful of reminisiscences. The very walls and trees seemed to vibrate with stories of Ohio's favorite son. "He was never the President here," said his neighbors, "but just 'The Major,' the same Major we knew when he marched home from the wars."

One story that was told to a correspondent was peculiarly interesting, as it showed why Canton that knew the dead so well loved him so much.

Just a few days before the President and his wife left for Buffalo, there was a picnic of the Catholic Orphan Asylum, at Lewisville, about seven miles from here. In the afternoon the President drove over to say a word of good cheer to the children. The first to

greet him was a man wrinkled with age, the barber who had shaved his father before him, and shaved the President in his younger days.

"How do, Peter," was the President's greeting. "Why, Mr. President," began the aged barber; but the President's hand was raised in protest. "No, no, Peter," he laughingly explained, "I am never the President here at home. I am still the Major that I always was."

"It was for its beloved Major that Canton so often honored that the pillows are wet with tears. Woe to the man who whispers an ill word on her streets to-night. One tried it this afternoon. The simple words, 'Canton should be happy now,' had scarcely left his lips before he was felled with a blow that left him senseless. He would have been killed had not police and soldiers interfered."

The town was a mass of black. Business had been suspended. Arches of mourning rose where once stood arches of triumph. These solemn loops of black reached from station to courts, out beyond the McKinley cottage, and stretched on the other side to the gates of West Lawn Cemetery.

At 1.45 o'clock on Thursday the final services for the dead President were begun in the First Methodist Church of Canton. A great crowd of former army comrades, political and official associates, and distinguished men from every part of America followed the body from his home to the church.

Becoming Simplicity.—The services were simple. The strains of Beethovan's funeral march were followed by the singing of an anthem by a quartette. The Rev. O. B. Milligan prayed. The Ninetieth Psalm was read by Rev. John A. Hall, of the Trinity Lutheran Church, and a portion of the first chapter of the First Corinthians by the Rev. E. P. Herbruck, of the Trinity Reformed Church. After the President's favorite hymn, "Lead, Kindly Light," had been sung, Dr. C. E. Manchester delivered a memorial address.

The People Believed in Him.—He said that it was characteristic of our beloved President that men met him only to love him. "They

might indeed differ with him, but in the presence of such dignity of character and grace of manner none could fail to love the man. The people confided in him, believed in him. It was said of Lincoln that probably no man since the days of Washington was ever so deeply embedded and enshrined in the hearts of the people, but it is true of McKinley in a larger sense. Industrial and social conditions are such that he was, even more than his predecessors, the friend of the whole people."

Grief of Italian Workingmen.—Dr. Manchester told of a touching scene that was enacted in that church on the Sunday night previous. "The services had closed. The worshippers were gone to their homes. Only a few lingered to discuss the sad event that brings us together to-day. Three men in working garb, of a foreign race and unfamiliar tongue, entered the room. They approached the altar, kneeling before it and before his picture. Their lips moved as if in prayer, while tears furrowed their cheeks. They may have been thinking of their own King Humbert and of his untimely death. Their emotion was eloquent beyond speech, and it bore testimony to their appreciation of manly friendship and of honest worth."

Continuing, he said:

"Not only was our President brave, heroic and honest; he was as gallant a knight as ever rode the lists for his ladylove in the days when knighthood was in flower. It is but a few weeks since the nation looked on with tear-dimmed eyes as it saw with what tender conjugal devotion he sat at the bedside of his beloved wife, when all feared that a fatal illness was upon her. No public clamor that he might show himself to the populace, no demand of social function was sufficient to draw the lover from the bedside of his wife. He watched and waited while we all prayed—and she lived.

"This sweet and tender story all the world knows, and the world knows that his whole life has run in this one groove of love. It was a strong arm that she leaned upon, and it never failed her. Her smile

was more to him than the plaudits of the multitude, and for her greeting his acknowledgments of them must wait. After receiving the fatal wound, his first thought was that the terrible news might be broken gently to her. May God in this deep hour of sorrow comfort her. May His grace be greater than her anguish. May the widow's God be her God.

"Another beauty in the character of our President, that was a chaplet of grace about his neck, was that he was a Christian. In the broadest, noblest sense of the word that was true. His confidence in God was strong and unwavering. It held him steady in many a storm."

After speaking of the tragic cause of his death, he said:

"In the midst of our sorrow we have much to console us. He lived to see his nation greater than ever before. All sectional lines are blotted out. There is no South, no North, no East, no West. Washington saw the beginning of our national life. Lincoln passed through the night of our history and saw the dawn. McKinley beheld his country in the splendor of its noon. Truly he died in the fullness of his fame.

"I do not ask you in the heat of public address, but in the calm moments of mature reflection, what other man ever had such high honors bestowed upon him, and by so many people? What pageant has equalled this that we look upon to-day? We gave him to the nation but a little more than four years ago. He went out with the light of the morning upon his brow, but with his task set, and the purpose to complete it. We take him back a mighty conqueror."

At the conclusion of the address, Bishop Joyce, of Minneapolis, prayed, and the hymn, "Nearer, My God, to Thee," was sung by the entire congregation, after which the benediction was pronounced by monseignor T. P. Thorpe, of Cleveland.

There was a moment's silence, and then the body-bearers lifted their sad burden and bore it tenderly down the aisle. As they appeared at the door, the great crowd outside, uncovered, stood in silence while

the funeral procession formed. It was a great parade of military, but it was intensely solemn. Slowly through the streets the solemn cortege moved to the sound of the dead march, while a pall of grief seemed to settle upon the vast throng through which it passed.

The Last Rest.—It was after three o'clock when the procession reached the vault in Westlawn Cemetery. On all sides of the vault were laid the tributes of flowers which had been sent by men and the rulers of almost every nation of the globe. The casket was carried within, and President Roosevelt and his Cabinet and others grouped themselves about the door. A Knights Templar quartette sang, and Bishop Joyce prayed. There was a sound of "taps," and the great doors closed amid the strains of "Nearer, My God, to Thee" and the sobbing of men and women. It was the end.

XXII.

A MARVELOUS TRIBUTE.

At the moment the casket was placed in the vault an honor was paid to the memory of the dead President such as was never paid before to any man in the history of the world. At that instant, by preconcerted arrangement, all America stood still.

A Solemn Hush.—All the great activities of American life paused in a solemn hush. Wheels ceased to turn. The railway trains speeding across the country were arrested in their flight. The screws of great steamships ceased to turn; the murmur and clang of the trolley car was hushed. Even the cabmen on the street all stopped; and for one, two, three, four, five minutes scarcely a sound was heard except the subdued notes of the hymn that had been sung so often during the week, while millions of people stood with uncovered and bowed heads, thinking of him whom they loved. It was perhaps the most impressive incident ever witnessed by man.

Pulseless Cables.—The entire telegraph system of the country was hushed, and in all the huge network of wires from one end of the land to the other there was not a single tick. Even the great ocean cables were pulseless. In the Western Union Chicago office the hundreds of operators all arose at their desks and joined with deep feeling in the President's hymn, "Nearer, My God, to Thee." The same hymn was sung in New York City by the gathered crews of steamships and railway trains. There, the policemen were lined up, and with uncovered heads followed their sergeant in repeating the words of the Lord's Prayer. Ten thousand men, women and children massed in Herald Square listened for ten minutes to the tolling of the bells, and for half that time the place was as silent as a country churchyard. The clang of the trolley gong was missing. Some magic spell all in a moment had quieted the ceaseless whir of the surface car and the

rattle and din of the elevated trains. It was as though the hand of death itself had suddenly clutched the throbbing heart of the mighty city and stilled its beating pulse.

The same scenes were repeated in a lesser degree in all the cities of the land. In Philadelphia the old Liberty Bell tolled out its solemn requiem. In Jersey City seven hundred Italians belonging to uniformed organizations participated in a memorial parade. At the head of the procession four men bore a floral temple of fame, in which, in flowers, was the word, "McKinley." Following this was a band, and then a heavily draped hearse, inside of which was a handsome casket, flag-draped. The paraders attended divine services after which all attended a public meeting, at which eulogistic addresses were made in Italian.

All the World Murmurs "Rest."—"When murdered Cæsar was buried," said the New York *Journal*, "only the people of a single city knew what was happening. When Washington was laid to rest the toiling messengers were still galloping over muddy roads with the direful news of his death. The people of the United States were mourners at the tomb of Lincoln, but there was no cable to bring them into communication with sympathic hearts in Europe. But now the whole earth quivers with a single emotion. A shot was fired in Buffalo, and, as if by an electric impulse, flags dropped to half-mast by the Ganges, the Volga and the Nile. The captive Filipino chieftain laid his tribute of homage on the tomb of a magnanimous conqueror. Boer and Briton joined in sorrow for the distant ruler who had sympathized with the sufferings of both. All the world murmurs to-day: 'Rest in Peace.' And the American people—his own people—to whom he gave his love and his life, echo, reverently: 'Rest.'"

In Westminster Abbey.—In London, memorial services, held in Westminster Abbey by command of King Edward, were attended by throngs almost as deeply moved as those who filled our own churches. A most impressive moment of the service was a pause for silent

prayer in behalf of the widow and family of the President. As the great organ's note, like a deep sigh, faded into solemn silence, the last jarring clang of the chimes outdoors momentarily punctured the stillness, as though for a record of passing time. "Then a hush fell upon the densely thronged church, and for fully five minutes every head was bowed in silent prayer—hushed and silent as the unnumbered dead who sleep beneath the Abbey stones. It was an awful, soul-stirring moment. One could not help recalling the scene five years ago, at St. Louis, when at the mention of the name of McKinley ten thousand men had cheered like half-demented savages for half an hour by the clock. Some of those present on that occasion were even now kneeling with bowed heads, their subdued attitude beneath the Abbey's towering roof being more expressive of genuine feeling than the wildest cheers and frantic flag-waving in that memorable yellow pine board convention hall."

The Westminster *Gazette* said: "To us in this country the loss of President McKinley is a family bereavement. We have had our differences with the American people. We know full well how more true it becomes every day that they are our keenest and most dangerous outstanding fact that they are our next of kin. We are linked by trade competitors, but above and beyond the conflict of competition is the common ties that exist nowhere except with the United States. Just as Queen Victoria was sincerely mourned on the other side of the Atlantic, so now we claim a special right to share the sorrow and indignation which the American feels at the death of its President."

In Paris there was a great crush in the effort of the populace to reach the Church of the Holy Trinity, where a distinguished assemblage was gathered to honor the memory of our dead.

The Paris *Gaulois* said: "The death of President McKinley will have a greater reverberation throughout Europe than that of Garfield, Lincoln or Carnot."

Salutes on Distant Seas.—The warships of Great Britain and Germany throughout the world joined in the salute due to the head

of our stricken Republic. In every capital of Europe and in nearly every civilized country in the world there were displayed symbols of grief. An Austrian paper said: "The ocean is not wide enough to hold all the sympathy that is streaming from the Old to the New."

In far-away India commerce was stopped, batteries were fired, flags were half-masted, and there was general mourning. Solemn, weeping crowds assembled in Berlin, Brussels, Dresden, Vienna, Copenhagen Cologne, Rio Janeiro, Kingston, Pekin, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, Rome, Manila, San Juan, Havana, almost every city of consequence in the world, and took part in the most impressive memorial services ever rendered in honor of any dead.

Among the incidents of the day in America none perhaps was more touching or more significant than the tribute which came from the heart of a little Atlanta girl. The story, as told by the *Constitution*, forms a fitting close for this chapter:

"Just about a half an hour before the shadows of twilight commenced to shroud the silent tombs of Oakland Cemetery, a minister of one of Atlanta's churches had occasion to pass the enclosure of this city of the dead.

"As he reached the main entrance, on Hunter street, the clergyman's attention was drawn to a little girl of probably not more than nine years, who was standing outside the gate. Although a tired look, as though from some long vigil, was to be plainly seen upon the child's face, there was an eager, expectant look in her bright eyes as they were directed inquiringly toward his.

"'Please, sir,' she asked of the clergyman, as she saw his kindly faced turned toward her, 'can you tell me how long it will be until the funeral comes?'

"'What funeral, my dear?' he answered, thinking it might be that of some friend or relative of hers.

"The minister was scarcely prepared for the reply the little girl made, for, with the sweet and absolute simplicity of childhood she answered:

"'I mean our President's funeral. Can't you tell me, sir, how long it will be until it comes?'

"The clergyman was too bewildered for a moment by the reply of the child to speak, and when a full realization of her meaning did dawn upon him it was a strange sort of choking in his throat that kept him from finding speech for a good many more than one moment.

"Not waiting for a reply, the little lass continued:

"'I've been waiting here such a long time—I know it must be three hours—and I am so tired I don't know what to do. I brought these to put on his grave, and I just can't leave until they come. Nobody at home knew I was coming, and they'll be uneasy about me if the funeral don't come soon, so I can get home before dark."

"As she spoke she held up for the clergyman's inspection a fast wilting bunch of blossoms—a pitiful little fading bunch, but the best that she could find, and shaped into the only fashion her tiny hands could devise. She had gathered them herself and brought them to place them as her offering at the tomb of the nation's martyr.

"Brushing a tear from his cheek, the clergyman placed his arm about the child and drew her tenderly toward him. There was a moment of silence, and then he told her of the burial that had occurred hours before in the far away Ohio city.

"She could not conceal the disappointment she felt, and, as there came a pause, she slowly replied: 'I'm sorry I didn't get to put them on his grave. I wanted to—but I guess I'll go home.'

"'Little one,' he said, as they started together toward the child's home, 'you have this day offered to the memory of a great man the best, the truest tribute that could be paid.'

"When they reached the home of the child and she had left him with a 'Thank you, sir, for bringing me home,' the man of God stood for a moment in silence, then slowly resumed the journey that had been so strangely interrupted. In his hand he held a tiny blossom, one of those that had faded from 'waiting for them to come.'"

XXIII.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

After Mr. McKinley's election to the Presidency, Mr. Charles M. Pepper, a well-known newspaper correspondent, was sent by the New York *Herald* to Canton, with instructions to remain until the President should leave for Washington to be inaugurated. This gave Mr. Pepper an opportunity to see Mr. McKinley daily for nearly four months, and he has furnished the *Christian Herald* with some exceedingly interesting recollections of that memorable period.

"I remember," he writes, "one evening in the library at Canton, when, quite unconsciously and unintentionally, he gave some of us a little talk on faith. It was at the hour when he was in the habit of seeing those who were privileged to call on him, and in whose judgment he could confide and talk freely. Some of the persons present had intimated their disbelief in the efficacy of faith and trust. Without saying a word on the incident which had caused the discussion, and without giving any opinion, Major McKinley related a number of instances which had come under his personal attention, and which showed the comfort of faith and of prayer. It was all done so gently and without any intention of rebuke, but that little talk made clear his own supreme faith.

"The uncertainties of power and position also once formed the text for a little sermon. One evening, in driving around Canton just at dusk, I noticed a funeral taking place at the County Infirmary, or poorhouse. The same evening, some chance observation regarding the incident was made in Major McKinley's library, and one of those present began to wonder on the circumstances which had caused the funeral. Major McKinley himself told them. A once wealthy and prominent citizen, through a series of reverses, had become an inmate

of the poorhouse. Though Major McKinley did not himself state it, I learned afterwards that it was through the kindness of himself and other friends that the last months of this man's life had been made comfortable. But the moral he drew was that worldly prosperity was fleeting, and that it was during the reverses that the true qualities of manhood were shown.

On another evening there were with Mr. McKinley three or four United States Senators, half a dozen Representatives in Congress, two or three governors, and several party leaders, when a poor woman, with her daughter, asked an interview. She had with her a number of papers, and she told the secretary that it was a pension case. The President-elect saw her at once. "He looked over the papers," says Mr. Pepper, "explained very patiently how the case would have to be sent to the Pension Office in Washington, and what course it would have to follow there. He also promised her that it should receive prompt attention. Whether it would be allowed or not, of course he could not say, but he called a stenographer and dictated a letter which at least would insure for it an early hearing. All this took ten or fifteen minutes, but Major McKinley manifested no annoyance, and by his own patient forbearance he rebuked the distinguished visitors who showed signs of impatience because their business was not given preference over that of the poor woman with the pension case."

Mr. Pepper says that nothing in all the world could have afforded Mr. McKinley such gratification at his first inauguration as the presence of the two persons he most loved of all human beings. These were his wife and his mother. During the period between election and inauguration at times in Canton there would be some uncertainty about the health of one or the other, and those were the only periods when Major McKinley showed depression.

After he became President, Mr. Pepper saw him occasionally at the White House, and found him always with the same serene faith and the same world-wide charity. Human suffering anywhere appealed

to him. "The Cuban reconcentrados, the famine-stricken natives of India, or the starving wretches of China, all enlisted his sympathy, and I pleasantly recall the keen interest he showed in the relief measures of Dr. Klopsch and the aid which he gave to those measures."

The correspondent last saw President McKinley a few weeks before his death in his home at Canton, spending an hour with him in the library, where, more than four years ago, so many interviews were held with him. He was full of life and vigor and hope. "He talked to me chiefly of measures of public policy, but throughout it all was the ringing note of faith which I have before remarked was the keynote of his character. The memory of that last talk will remain with me always."

In a letter to the *Manufacturers' Record,* Senator J. L. McLaurin, of South Carolina, tells of an interview he had with President McKinley one day during the early days of the Spanish war. "One afternoon," he writes, "during the early days of the Spanish war. I called by appointment upon the President. After my business was concluded we drifted into a long talk upon national affairs. We had already had several conversations upon the situation in the South, and he asked me a great many questions, which led to my giving him a full account of the difficulties under which we labored. I told him of the humiliation and misgovernment, the pride and patriotism of a great people, how we misunderstood the North, and how the North misunderstood us. He spoke beautifully and tenderly of the Southern people, and of how he intended to use the power and influence of his great office to reunite our country. He said that he had appointed General Lee, and had promised to appoint General M. C. Butler to a place in the army, and intended to make no discrimination on account of politics or sections.

"I can recall the words, but who can paint the earnestness and eloquence, as, raising one hand on high, he said: 'Senator, by the help of God, I propose to be the President of the whole country, the

South as much as the North, and before the end of my term the South will understand this.'

"No wonder, as a true Southern man, I loved and trusted President McKinley. I stood by him in the Senate and elsewhere, and I thank God that I did.

"Patriotic in purpose and pure in heart, his noble soul is now with Him whom the hate of man nailed to the cross. Like Lincoln, who saved the country, McKinley, who reunited it, dies a martyr to envy and hate."

In an address to the school children, Congressman J. A. T. Hall, of Des Moines, Iowa, said that, during the interim between the blowing up of the "Maine" and the declaration of war against Spain, five Congressmen called upon the President with a view to inducing him to precipitate hostilities. He persisted that diplomacy should be used in the hope of averting a conflict, whereupon one of the Congressmen exclaimed:

"Mr. President, the charge is often made that you are influenced by the big moneyed interests of this country, and your attitude in this matter is such that I am forced to the conclusion that you are in reality their tool."

The President was manifestly affected, but exhibited no anger as he replied, with a trace of pride:

"My whole past life shall defend me against such a charge."

Few stories that have been told about Mr. McKinley more beautifully illustrate the tender side of his character, his spirit of forgiveness, charity and brotherly love, than one which a watchman of one of the public buildings in Washington related to a correspondent of the Charlestown (W. Va.) *Gazette.*

Though now growing old and somewhat broken by misfortune, he was an editor of prominence and power years ago in the district that McKinley represented in Congress. "He was at the head of a Republican paper," says the correspondent, "but suspecting

McKinley of instigating a libel suit against him, he fought his party's choice for Congress with all his strength and power at his command. For years he held McKinley a bitter enemy, and did his utmost to prevent his rising.

"Then it was disclosed that McKinley had no part in the libel suit, and had never attempted to wrong the man who once fought him so fiercely. The editor, full of remorse, went to Mr. McKinley and begged forgiveness. Mr. McKinley forgave not in word only, as time was to show.

"The editor met reverses. His paper and all that was his were swept away, and as a last resort he came to Washington and went to work as a laborer. He is a religious man and attended the late President's church.

"It was during the first administration of President McKinley that the editor became the laborer. The President always recognized him at church with a nod and a smile. Later the President made inquiries, learned of the man's position, and sent word for him to visit the White House.

"But the laborer's pride forbade him. 'No,' he stubbornly told his friends, 'McKinley's up and I am down now. He was always good to me, and I treated him shabbily. I'll not seek more favors.' The laborer stayed away.

"His impulses, however, led him to attend the last New Year's reception. McKinley recognized him at once, and extended both hands. The line was delayed while the President of the United States urged a humble citizen to visit him, and then the laborer went away proud, but troubled.

"'You see,' he explained to his friends, 'it's not only that I acted wrong years ago; it's this—I'm not with McKinley now. I am for free silver. I have no right to accept favors from him.'

"The laborer was getting old. His work was growing too heavy a burden. Many friends pressed him to visit the President, and so, at last, he went.

"Just what happened there has not been told. But one thing is certain—the ex-editor ceased to be a laborer from that day. He has a comfortable berth for his declining years.

"And during the services held for two weeks past at the Metropolitan Church one bowed, gray-haired man near the 'President's pew' has sent many a fervent prayer for the martyr, and has wept many bitter tears for the man he once fought so fiercely."

Welcome of the West.—During his recent tour across the continent there was nothing which Mr. McKinley enjoyed more than the familiar greetings of uncouth but sincere individuals who were always popping up in unexpected places.

" 'McKinley, you are all right, old boy. I am glad you have come, and blow me full of holes if I don't hope you will come again.' This," wrote a Cabinet officer, "was the welcome of the West to the President of the United States." He was an ex-roughrider who had climbed upon the rear platform of the car. As he uttered the good wishes Mr. McKinley grasped his hand, smiled and thanked him. This was at Bowie, Arizona. Another cow-puncher in the crowd at the station cried: "Glad to see you, Bill, but I'll be hanged if you ain't got a soft snap of a job," running his eyes significantly along the length of the Pullman train as he spoke.

Always Happy.—"The President," says the same writer, "was always considerate, always good-natured, always happy. He rises each morning apparently refreshed, facing life with a smiling face. I think this is one of the chief secrets of the President's success. His disposition is naturally kind. He wants to make everyone around him happy."

Few stories that have been told about the late President give a better insight into his character than the account which the boy reporter of the New York *World* gave, of a visit which he made to Mr. McKinley's home at Canton in the fall of 1896. It has been often repeated, but I feel that this chapter would hardly be complete without it.

Interviewed by a Boy Reporter.—"I have been down to Ohio to see Mr. McKinley, the big Republican," he wrote. "As I have visited many men who are great, and as Mr. McKinley seems to be the greatest of all at present, I wanted to see him bad, so I took a call on him at Canton, Ohio, the town he lives in.

"When a man gets big like him he ought to be able to tell boys how to become great too, so I thought it would pay me to go down there and ask of him some advice on how a young boy can start in life and become a great man.

"Canton isn't as big a town as New York, and everybody in the place knows Mr. McKinley and the family.

"It isn't easy to ask Major McKinley things for the newspapers. I knew that before I started, so I found Mr. Boyle, his Private Secretary, and told him I was the boy reporter for the Sunday *World,* and all the boys wanted to hear about Mr. McKinley, and would he please fix it so I could see him. Mr. Boyle was a newspaper man and he knew all about it, so I told him I didn't want to talk politics, and that I wanted to ask Mr. McKinley how I or other boys could get to be as famous as he was.

"Then Mr. Boyle laughed, and said that Major McKinley was a very busy man all the time, but as he liked boys awful well, I might call around to his house and see him in the morning. As I had come all the way from New York and wanted to do so, so much.

"Then I was glad. So when morning came I got up early and started for McKinley's house, one thing struck me awfully funny on the road there, it was that they were painting all the telegraph poles, and everything else in the town, white and blue; they seemed tickled about something by the way they were slapping the paint all over the street, and I guess paint is cheap in Ohio, so I asked a man what they were painting up for, and he said they're getting ready to celebrate McKinley's nomination.

"So I knew everybody in Canton liked the big Republican, and I

hurried on. His house is a pretty one, made of wood and painted white, on a fine broad street, and there wasn't any basements or steps, like we see in New York houses.

"It's a fine place to live in, and I'd like to live there myself.

"I knew right away that it was where Mr. McKinley and his wife, Mrs. McKinley, lived, for Mr. Boyle had told me what it looked like; he said there were two big urns painted white standing in the big lawn in front of the house. They weren't anything but two big flower-pots, as big as I am.

"I went up to the door and pressed the button, and inquired as to see Mr. McKinley. Its an electric bell, and I suppose it will be worn out soon, if there's many callers come every day as come and wanted to see him as while I was there.

"A young man who was another private secretary came to the door. Major McKinley has two private secretaries.

" 'Come right in,' says he, and he took my card, and went into a room right by the door. I asked for Mr. Boyle, but the young man took my card to a large man, in the front room, and when he came out and said, 'step right in here and sit down,' I walked in, and there was a big man sitting in the corner. I knew him right off as soon as I seen him, and I sat there in a rocking chair, sizing him up and the room I was in.

"It was Major McKinley.

Mr. McKinley at Home.—"I seen he had a round head with not much hair on the top, and I knew it was him, because he looked like the pictures of Napoleon at the elevated stations, which the newspaper artists make him look like.

"He wore eye-glasses and a black coat, and had awful big eye-brows, and he didn't look like as if he was in a great hurry, and I hoped he'd talk to me a good deal.

"He was at a little desk looking over some letters.

"I liked him right off, and then I looked at the room. It was his library and he uses it as his office, it is very large with plenty of book-

shelves, which are full of his favorite authors, Grant, Lincoln and himself.

"Pictures were hanging on the walls of Grant, Lincoln, and a lot of other great men and also a large beautiful picture of his wife, Mrs. McKinley and himself.

"Then I looked at Mr. McKinley again, and I seemed to be getting almost afraid to talk to him for I thought he was such a big man, wise and great, but I thought to myself that there wasn't any use for me to come all the way from New York and not talk to him.

"So I got my senses together and just then Mr. Boyle came down stairs and stepped over to the Major, and said right off that there was a boy there to see him. Mr. McKinley got right up from his chair and stared at me with a very pleasant smile on his face.

"'This is Harry Wilson,' said Mr. Boyle, 'who has come from New York to see you.'

"'I'm pleased to see you,' said Mr. McKinley, and he gave me his hand for to shake, and I liked him more than ever, because he acted as if he was real pleased to see me.

"'Sit down,' said he, and he pointed to my rocking chair, and then he sat down in front of me in one of them chairs that whirl around like the editor's chair.

"And I said to him, 'Mr. McKinley I am more than pleased to meet you, as I think that not more than one of a thousand boys could see you and talk with you, and I'm proud.'

"Then I told him at once what I had come for, because I didn't want to keep him from his work, writing letters and such things.

Telling a Boy How to Become a Great Man.—"'Mr. McKinley,' I said, 'I come to ask you if you would give me some advice as to how a young boy can start in life and become a great man ; I thought you could tell me.'

"I wondered what he was going to say, as I've asked a lot of big men, like Chauncey Depew and Alderman Muh, the same thing. He

sat still for a moment, holding his eye-glasses with his right hand and pushing the black bead on the cord with his other hand. I saw he wears a gold ring on the left hand and a pair of great big cuff-buttons—not link buttons, like the swells wear; I guess his wife must have given them to him.

"He thought a long time and then talked very slowly, and his voice was deep.

" 'Well,' he said, 'first a boy must be a good boy—honest, always do what is right, pay attention to what he is doing, and be a student; he must go to school all he can, learn all his lessons, and he mustn't be afraid to study.'

"Then I thought to myself what Mr. McKinley had said was perfectly right; then I paused for a moment, thinking what I should ask him next. I had never been far outside of New York before, and Canton looked like a very small town to me, and I wondered if it was a good place to make smart men in.

" 'Mr. McKinley,' I said, 'will you please tell me do you think a boy has as much chance to study and make a great man out of himself in a small place like this as the boys in great cities like New York have?'

"That made him smile, but he said right off: 'A boy can make anything out of himself that he pleases, and he has just as much chance to do it in the country as in the city; there are good colleges in small places, just the same as in New York, and a boy, if he wants to, can make what he will out of himself.'

"He was beginning to get warmed up and was beginning to talk fast. He went on:

" 'It don't make much difference where it is or how great the part he plays, but it's the way he plays it. The other night I saw a play at the theatre called "The Rivals." Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Drew, and Mrs. Drew, and Mrs. Tabor, and Mr. Crane, and Goodwin, the Holland brothers and Francis Wilson played the parts. Every one

of them was great and used to be stars, but they were content to take some parts that were very small in "The Rivals;" but they played them just as well as if they had been big.

" 'That is the way with boys and men; it isn't so much to be great as to do whatever you have to do well—that is being great.'

"I began to feel as if I was hearing a sermon, and the Major McKinley looked very sober.

"Then he got in a good word for Canton. 'It isn't such a small place,' he said, 'and it's a very nice town to live in. Some of the best farms are out this way. Before you go back to New York you had better take a look around.'

"But I wasn't through with him yet. I said: 'Mr. McKinley, would you please be so kind as to tell me when a boy should go into politics?'

A Glimpse of Mrs. McKinley.—"Then he laughed again and looked at his secretary, Mr. Boyle, who looks a good deal like Mr McKinley. Mr. Boyle was going to say something, when Mr. McKinley suddenly sprang from his chair into the hall and came in in a few moments with a lady leaning on his arm.

"It was Mrs. McKinley, and she was very sweet looking, and I was delighted to see her, and I think she would make folks comfortable if she lived in the White House in Washington.

"Mr. McKinley is very fond of her, I am sure, and he escorted her to the carriage, and she was going out for a morning ride.

"Then he came back and sat down with a smile on his face. When he was about to begin to talk to me he was called away again, and stayed away a few moments and then came in again and sat down and then laughed, and began to ask me questions before I could ask him some more.

" 'How old are you? How long have you been working?' I then told him, and he wanted to know how long I had been reporting. I said, 'Eight months.'

"He then said to me: 'Harry, I believe you must have a great deal of good advice by this time,' and the Major laughed. So did all the rest in the room.

"I said: 'If I could follow all I've been told I'd be a great man pretty quick.'

A Boy's Mother.—"Mr. McKinley is very fond of his mother, who is eighty-seven years old and lives near him, so I said: 'Can a boy neglect his mother and get along and be great, Mr. McKinley?'

"He looked very grave and sad, and then said:

" 'Harry, a boy should always be good to his mother and do everything in the world he can and love her. He must comfort her, be kind and gentle to her, and not only do all he can to make her happy, but he should make opportunities to try and do everything he can do.'

"That's just the Major McKinley's words, because I wrote them down when I came out of the home.

" 'A boy cannot expect to succeed if he isn't good to his mother,' the Major says. 'A boy should do all the work for her, because when the time comes that she has got to leave for a greater world than this, and if he has done what is right towards her all the time, then when the time comes for her to go he will never regret the good he has done towards her.'

"Then I said: 'I have done everything in the world I can do for my mother,' and then he said:

" 'That's right, Harry; do all you can at all times.'

"Then I stopped for a moment and said: 'If every boy would follow the advice which you have given me he never will feel sorry for the good work he has done for her when the end comes.'

"Then I stopped a moment and thought that Mr. McKinley hadn't told me when a boy should go into politics, and I said:

" 'Mr. McKinley, will you tell me when a boy ought to study politics?'

"He then stopped a moment and then said to me:

"'Harry, first a boy should study the history of his country, and learn all the political history of the country. He should learn what the leaders have done for their country, so that when the time comes for him to vote he will be able to do so intelligently.'

"Then some more people came in to see him, and the Major McKinley went out into the hall again, and I knew he was in a hurry, so I said that I wished to ask one more thing. I remember I had nearly forgotten one of the most important questions.

"I then said, after he had returned from outside of the hall:

"'Mr. McKinley, I have just one more question, and it is an important one.' I then said: 'Would you tell me how you earned your first dollar?'

"He sank back in his chair and looked as if that wasn't what he expected me to ask him; then he put his hand up to the side of his head, as if to recall the years which had passed by, and then, with a smile, said:

"'Really, I can't recall the first dollar that I earned.' He keeped on thinking, and I tried to make him think a little harder.

"Then I said: 'Did you have to saw wood, did you have to drive oxen all day long, or did you have to work in the field all day? Can't you remember what you used to do to earn money?'

"He then said to me: 'Why, Harry, I did anything a boy would do around the house. When I was a boy money was very scarce, and you had to work hard for what little money you got. But I can't remember the first dollar. You have to ask me something easy.'

"'What kind of books should a boy who wants to be great read?'

"'Ah! now I have to refer you to my private secretary; he has a lecture which he speaks on the stage that tells all that and much more.'

"So then I knew my talk was over with him. I felt very sorry to say good-bye, but I said:

"'Mr. McKinley, I want to thank you, for it was very good in you to stop to talk to a boy, and I am very grateful.'

"'And I am very glad that you came to see me,' says he. 'I'm always glad to talk with boys. I like them and like to be with them. What is there in all the world nicer than a boy, except a sweet young girl? Come again, Harry, and I hope you'll have the best of luck and do some good in the world with your work. Send me a paper.'

"Then we shook hands again, and Mr. Boyle went out on the porch with me, and there was a lot of big men—politicians, I guess—and I think Mr. McKinley was very nice to talk to me and keep them waiting so long.

"I guess all the boys who knows Mr. McKinley like Mr. McKinley as well as he likes them, because the boys of Canton, Ohio, have already formed a drum corps. It's the first campaign club in the country, and the boys are very proud of it. I'd join if I lived in Canton. The boys all wear white suits and drill, and are going to march for McKinley."

XXIV.

WHAT THE WORLD THOUGHT OF HIM.

While this sketch was being prepared the author wrote to a number of eminent men throughout the world, asking for a word of tribute to the memory of the dead President. To this request there was a most cordial response, and it is a pleasure to present in this closing chapter some valuable estimates prepared especially for this volume, along with other choice tributes which were spoken on the platform or have appeared in the public prints.

President Roosevelt.—"President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellowmen, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death, will remain forever a precious heritage of our people."

President Diaz (Mexico).—"I have been deeply shocked by this horrible crime, which has not even the excuse that the anarchist is persecuted in the United States, since, as is well known, freedom and tolerance are there extended to him. Nor has it the excuse that President McKinley was a ruler of exclusive or aristocratic tendencies, for he was by reason of his position as a popular ruler and his own personal feelings, sympathies and habits a good friend of the people, a genuine democrat in the best sense of the word, so that this crime was as useless and unprovoked as it is abominable in every respect. With regard to Mexico, President McKinley had ever evidenced such friendly sentiments that his death will be mourned in this country hardly less keenly than in the United States; for myself, it is a loss of a warm personal friend."

Cardinal Gibbons.—"Few Presidents were better equipped than Mr. McKinley for the exalted position which he filled. He was thor-

oughly conversant with the duties of his office, and could enter into its most minute details. His characteristic virtues were courtesy and politeness, patience and forbearance and masterly self-control under very trying circumstances.

"The domestic virtues of Mr. McKinley were worthy of all praise. He was a model husband. Amid the pressing and engrossing duties of his official life he would from time to time snatch a few moments to devote to the invalid and loving partner of his joys and sorrows. Oh! what a change has come over this afflicted woman! Yesterday she was the first lady of the land. To-day she is a disconsolate and broken-hearted widow. Let us beseech Him who comforted the widow of Nain that He console this lady in her hour of desolation."

Grover Cleveland.—"He passes from the public sight, not bearing the wreaths and garlands of his countrymen's approving acclaim, but amid the sobs and tears of a mourning nation. The whole nation loved their President. His kindly disposition and affectionate traits, his amiable consideration for all around him, will long be in the hearts of his countrymen. He loved them in return with such patriotism and unselfishness that in this hour of their grief and humiliation he would say to them, 'It is God's will, I am content. If there is a lesson in my life or death, let it be taught to those who live and have the destiny of their country in their keeping.'

"First in my thoughts are the lessons to be learned from the career of William McKinley by the young men who make up the students to-day of our university. They are not obscure or difficult. The man who is universally mourned to-day was not deficient in education, but with all you will hear of his grand career, and his services to his country, you will not hear that what he accomplished was due entirely to his education. He was an obedient and affectionate son, patriotic and faithful as a soldier, honest and upright as a citizen, tender and devoted as a husband, and truthful, generous, unselfish, moral and clean in every relation of life. He never thought any of

those things too weak for his manliness. Make no mistake. Here was a most distinguished man, a great man, a useful man, who became distinguished, great and useful because he had, and retained unimpaired, qualities of heart which I fear university students sometimes feel like keeping in the background or abandoning.

"There is a more serious lesson for all of us in the tragedy of our late President's death. If we are to escape further attacks upon our peace and security we must boldly and resolutely grapple with the monster of anarchy. It is not a thing that we can safely leave to be dealt with by party or partisanship. Nothing can guarantee us against its menace except the teaching and the practice of the best citizenship, the exposure of the ends and aims of the gospel of discontent and hatred of social order, and the brave enactment and execution of repressive laws.

"The universities and colleges cannot refuse to join in the battle against the tendencies of anarchy. Their help in discovering and warring against the relationship between the vicious councils and deeds of blood, and their steadying influence upon the elements of unrest, cannot fail to be of inestimable value.

"By the memory of our martyred President, let us resolve to cultivate and preserve the qualities that made him great and useful, and let us determine to meet the call of patriotic duty in every time of our country's danger and need."

Archbishop Ireland.—"He was the noble citizen, proud of being a son of the people, brave in the battlefield amid his country's peril, zealous of its glory, unswervingly loyal to its honor and its interests. He was the typical President of the Republic. Large minded in his vision of the questions bearing upon the country's fortune, resolute in using the authority for what seemed to him its best weal, ready as the leader of a self-governing people to hearken to the popular voice and so far as principle and conscience permitted, to obey its behests, even to the sacrifice of his personal views.

"Political opponents differed from him in matters of public policy. They did not, they could not, mistrust his sincerity or his spirit of justice and patriotism. William McKinley is now dead, stricken down by the hand of a vile assassin. This makes the nation's sorrow doubly deep, for to sorrow is added shame—shame before her own eyes, before those of the world—that in this land of civil liberty there should have been found a man so overwhelmingly bad as to murder her President; to murder him who served so well his fellow-men; to murder him who cherished so tenderly the free institutions of America; shame that within her own borders the majesty of the republic should have been outraged and its name disgraced, the honor of humanity assailed and its most sacred rights imperiled."

Andrew Carnegie.—"President McKinley passes into his place in history as one of the greatest rulers of men, through their affections, and beloved by his countrymen, and he stands forever with Lincoln and Garfield in the temple of martyrs, wearing like them the holy crown of sacrifice for the Republic. Our first duty in this crisis is to give to his successor under the Constitution our loyal support, in the hope and belief that power will impress him, as it may great characters known to history, and keep him in the path of his good and great predecessor."

General John B. Gordon.—"It was my privilege to know William McKinley well for a quarter of a century. I knew him as a member of Congress, as Governor of a great State, and finally as the President of this great Republic. Through all these eventful years my personal relations to him were most cordial. In official conferences and in the freedom and abandon of private intercourse I learned to admire and to love him; and now that the beatings of his great heart are stilled forever, I wish to tell you, my Southern countrymen, that no words of bitterness escaped his lips, and no sectional bigotry narrowed his vision or dwarfed his soul. As in death his faith in God placed him near his Divine Master's side, so in life his faith in his fellow

countrymen lifted him far above the passions of the partisans to the high plane of universal American brotherhood.

"Is it any wonder then that such a man should be honored and loved as few men have ever been? Is it any wonder that this city should pay him, when living, the tribute of her respect, and, when dead, the tribute of her tears? It was here that he uttered those memorable words which thrilled through Southern hearts and homes as the heavenly message 'Peace on earth and good will toward men' rang through the Judean hills. And, my countrymen, it was no thoughtless impulse that evoked this utterance. It was the sober expression of matured convictions. These words were not the plea of a political adventurer, seeking to capture votes by the demagogue's devices. He was the idol of a victorious political party, and the chosen executive of the proudest and freest government on earth. Is it any wonder that Confederates honor this knightly soldier, who, at the very zenith of political power, paid the loftiest possible tribute to former foes by invoking the power of the government to honor and protect the graves of our immortal dead? Is it any wonder that as citizens of the reunited republic we applaud him as the exemplar of personal and social integrity, stainless in all relations, noble, generous and true? Peace to his honored ashes!"

Attorney-General Griggs.—"Hear the concordance of praise that comes from every mind under the heavens!

"The East cries, 'We loved him, for he was of our stock. He thought with us. He brought us prosperity. We knew him; therefore we loved him.'

"The West: 'He was of us; he was our perfect product. We knew him; therefore we loved him.'

"The North cries: 'He fought for us; he wrought for us. We understood him; he was loyal and true; therefore we loved him.'

"The South cries: 'We loved him, for he was magnanimous and just to the South; in war an honorable foeman, in peace a friend and a brother.'

"Gallant soldier, successful politician, wise legislator, powerful debater, matchless orator, courtly gentleman; courtly in manner because courteous in feeling.

"If I were to seek a phrase to describe his public demeanor, I would say it was 'simple greatness.'

"And he was no mere theoretical academic statesman, filled with great zeal and small sense. His mind and methods were of the practical kind. No man ever appreciated more truly than he the real nature and quality of public sentiment, and none ever understood better how to mould and use it for the public good. He had faith in the common sense of the average citizens, and it was to their reason, not their passion or their prejudice, that he always made his appeals—and rarely in vain.

"He was no trimmer, watching the shifting impulses of the populace that he might trim his sails to the momentary gusts, but a great pilot scanning always the waters ahead to shun the rocks and whirlpools and discover where the deep, safe channel of national progress lay. His pilot stars were truth and loyalty.

"He was the sanest man and the one most free from hasty impulse and unreasoning prejudice that ever graced so high a station."

Senator Hoar.—"Everything wakes this morning but the eyes for whose waking all mankind were praying. Nobody can put in words the national sorrow. I cannot put in words my own for the friend I loved, and who loved me. We shall think of the graver matters of state in due time. The courage and wisdom of the people will not fail. But to-day is given to pouring out the mighty love of the Republic for the son best beloved, who so loved her and so well served her.

"Thank God there is no division in the people to-day. Rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, Protestant and Catholic, native-born and foreign-born are mingling their sorrow. The coward blow that has stricken down one noble life has strengthened the life of the nation."

Governor Beckham (Kentucky).—"He was a great and good man. His private life was pure and stainless and worthy the emulation of any man. His public life, even to those who, like myself, differed from him in politics, was a model of patriotism and statesmanship. Big-hearted and broad-minded, he never showed any of that bitterness and prejudice usually engendered by sectional warfare or political contests, and to-day, regardless of politics or creed, in the South as well as the North, in the West as well as in the East, the heart of every good American citizen is bowed deep in grief over the death of our honored and beloved President."

Governor Geer (Oregon).—"President McKinley stood in life, as he will forever stand in the history of his country, as a model product of American citizenship, and the high standard he reached and maintained, both in his domestic life and in the public service, will be a guide for American homes and an inspiration in governmental affairs for generations to come. He had been constantly before the American people as their servant for more than twenty years, and his continually growing popularity only reached its summit on the day of his death. The common people of the country have lost a lifelong friend and the spirit of government an able advocate and an unfaltering devotee."

Governor Candler (Georgia).—"The death of President McKinley is one of the greatest calamities which has ever befallen this country. There is not one of the 80,000,000 people of this great nation but has a personal grief because of his untimely taking off. He was a great and good man.

"Great as a soldier, great as a citizen, great as a statesman, broad and liberal in all his views—the first of all the chief magistrates of this Republic for forty years to come among us with his heart in his hand—he did more to bridge the bloody chasm than all the men in the Republic. He was, therefore, more honored by the people of this section than any chief magistrate we have had for these forty years.

"He was great intellectually and morally. In his domestic rela-

tions he was great. The devotion he manifested to his stricken wife and his loving mother was sublime. The immortal Washington was slandered and maligned; Jefferson was denounced; every President and every candidate for President has been assailed with calumny except William McKinley and the man who has run against him, William J. Bryan. They were not maligned. No voice was raised against their private lives, and they merited the treatment they thus received at the hands of their countrymen. President McKinley was as broad as the entire Republic."

Governor Heard (Louisiana).—"The South has lost a friend and the country a great and good man. No President since the Civil War has done more to destroy the feeling resulting from that strife and unite the two sections in cordial friendship than President McKinley. He had great faith and confidence in the mass of the people, and it is dreadful to contemplate that he should lose his life while exhibiting that confidence by mingling with the people. His home life was beautiful, and his devotion to his invalid wife won for him the affectionate regard of all good people."

Governor Toole (Montana).—"History will accord the late President a high niche in the gallery of statesmen. His messages and public documents reflect a wide range of experience, a fluency of learning and copiousness of thought. His broad, generous, hospitable nature invited confidence and suffered no official distance of age or station to intervene between himself and his countrymen, who profoundly respected him. He was void of dogmatism and intolerance, as he was of indolence and selfishness. He leaves in the hearts of all who knew him, and the most with those who knew him best, profound regrets and tear-honored, hallowed memories."

Governor Tyler (Virginia).—"His courtesy and kindness and his desire to help Virginia will not be forgotten. He was a man without bitterness, whose life was crowned by his effort to abolish sectional lines and whose death cements the completion of his cherished work. By

his wise and statesmanlike policy our people are brought closer together, and the flag of our common country is made dearer to the hearts of all."

Governor Hunn (Delaware).—"The earthly career of William McKinley is closed, but in the loving memory of his country it has just begun. Men will strive to emulate him; he needs no special eulogy; his life as a soldier, a statesman and a husband was conspicuous for bravery, high ability and loving devotion; he was one of the ablest executives our great nation has ever had, a nobleman of nature, by nature richly endowed."

Governor Jordan (New Hampshire).—"The people of New Hampshire knew of William McKinley; of his soldier life, as he was following and supporting the flag of his country on many battlefields; of his brilliant career in the popular branch of Congress; of his splendid record as the chief executive of his native State; of his great work upon the platform in advocacy of home markets, home industries and home protection before he was twice triumphantly elected to the highest office in the gift of any people. They know that as President of our Republic he has modestly, but yet bravely, met and wisely solved greater questions, national and international, than came to any other of our Presidents, save the immortal Lincoln; that his last message to the public, uttered upon the threshold of eternity, was one of peace, reciprocity, good faith and good-will; that he was the embodiment of all that was good and true in the home circle; the personification of honor and honesty in private and in public; that he has so borne himself in the affairs of men and nations as to unite all sections of his own loved country, make friends and admirers of all his people, and win the respect of all the great powers of the world."

Senator Foster.—"I believe that President McKinley was a friend of the South. I do not think that in any sense of the word he was a sectional President. I believe especially in his last term of office he felt an interest in the development of the South and the upbuilding

of its industries; and when in the last Congress sectional legislation was suggested against our people on political lines, as evidenced by the Crumpacker bill, he emphatically discouraged and opposed such a course on the part of his party, and the South can still feel grateful to him for his patriotic stand.

"During his visit to New Orleans, by his courtly bearing, pleasing address and affable manners, he gained the good will and the good wishes of our entire population. The people of this State, in common with those of our whole country, mourn his untimely death in heartfelt grief."

David B. Hill.—"Every good citizen laments the death of President McKinley. Death by assassination is always terrible, and the country is to-day staggering under the severe shock. The President deserved to live. He was just entering upon a career of usefulness greater than he had ever known before. As an official he was distinguished as safe and conservative, always ready to respect the popular will. He was a model citizen in all his relations in life. He cherished no animosities, and well understood and observed the amenities which should always accompany political differences in a free country like ours. He has shown his greatness and patriotism in his recent announcement that under no circumstances would he tolerate the suggestion of a third term for the Presidency, thereby loyally adhering to the best traditions of the Republic."

Congressman Sulzer (New York).—"As a member of Congress I knew President William McKinley well. He was one of the most amiable gentlemen I ever met in public life. It was very difficult for him to say no even to a political opponent. His kindly manner and genial, sunshiney disposition disarmed political criticism and turned foes into friends. He probably had fewer political enemies than any other President of the United States. To see him was to admire him, to know him was to love him.

"Although often compelled to differ with him in the performance

of my legislative duty, as I saw it, I always admired and respected him as a man and the Chief Executive of this great Republic.

"He was a politician in the best sense of the term, and had statesmanlike qualities of a very high order. He exemplified in his personality, more than any other man in public life, the principles of his party, adhered to them most tenaciously, and his monument will rest on the great work he did in carrying them out and placing them on the statute books of his country.

"He was farseeing, wise, brave, considerate and sagacious. He did things, and he always did them at the opportune time. He was probably the greatest opportunist this country has ever produced.

"He was an absolutely honest man, a true and tried and trusted friend, a loving husband, a soldier, a diplomat, and a statesman.

"His cruel, appalling and uncalled-for assassination made Christendom mourn.

"Impartial history will give him a high niche in its temple of fame, his works will live, and his virtues ever shine in the loyal hearts of his patriotic countrymen."

Senator Dolliver (Iowa).—"A long acquaintance with the late President, in the intimacy of a personal friendship which ended only with his life, has always saved me from that error of judgment which has in some quarters underrated his abilities and underestimated the value of his public services, but standing here before yet the flowers have withered which cast their faded beauty upon his grave, I declare my solemn belief that no achievement of his great career, no triumph of his speech will weigh so much for the welfare of the world as the everlasting ministry of the stainless life which he lived in the faith of the mother who taught him first to repeat the words of the Master, 'Thy will be done.'"

Senator Clay (Georgia).—"I shall never forget the impression he made upon me when I first met him. He then steadily grew in my esteem, and I say that I loved him as a pure, good and just man.

He was universally popular with both branches of Congress, regardless of politics, because he demonstrated to them all that he loved his fellowman. No man can be great unless he is good. Even his political enemies accorded to him the greatest integrity and the most scrupulous honor.

"Go to those who know him best. They loved him, they honored him; they believed he was entitled to every trust and every confidence. What higher tribute could be paid to his memory?

"I can never forget his love and affection for the American people. We all feel sad that he is gone; but, my friends his life and death teach us a lesson. His life had been as tender and as guileless as that of a child. His death was that of a saint." . . . .

"President McKinley would have been great even if he had never been associated with the office of President of the United States, because he was pure and good and just. The loveliness of his domestic life has been the theme of every tongue. On all occasions and everywhere he was ready to administer to his beloved wife. It was ever thus, and the bravest of men are always the tenderest men in their homes. Let us teach our sons and daughters to emulate his home life.

"President McKinley illustrated in his public and private life his faith and love for Christianity. He loved little children, he loved his home, he loved humanity, he loved God and he practiced the teachings of the meek and lowly Nazarene. He was great in his life, but surpassingly great in his death. Bowing to the decision of the Master, his noble spirit took its flight to a sweeter and better land."

Senator Pettus (Alabama).—"It has been my good fortune to know every President of the United States from Andrew Jackson down to the present presiding officer—I have known them all, like a private citizen—but I say here to-day that unless General Jackson was so, I have never seen a man in the President's chair who conducted himself so graciously, so kindly, so politely, to every man of every class and description who had to come before him. He was a gracious, gentle,

kind man in all his relations of life, especially so in his personal associations. He was a good man; all his instincts were those of benefit to man. I really believe he loved his fellowmen, and according to his opinion tried to benefit them."

John Wanamaker.—"I am speechless with sorrow that another American President must lie with Lincoln and Garfield in a martyr's grave. His vision of the glory of America in the near future, by the completion of the public measures of his administration outlined in his last public address at the Pan-American Exposition nine days ago, deepens the sorrow that will be universal that he is not to live to finish the great work in hand. I cannot think of any other event that could plunge the nation in such grief or touch the liberty-loving world so profoundly with regret as this sudden, uncalled-for sacrifice of our President."

Governor Voorhees (New Jersey).—"A pure-minded man and noble patriot is dead, but the world is better because he has lived. The President's death is a great calamity, and the grief of his countrymen will be universal and sincere. He was a man of broad mind, and his love for his country was unbounded. The purity of his life and his able statesmanship will be held in the memory of his countrymen for all time."

Joseph H. Manley.—"We shall now realize what a supremely good man was our beloved President, and appreciate how great is our loss. Every one feels that he increased the happiness of all mankind and added to the glory and advancement of all the world."

Congressman Sperry (Connecticut).—"Great-hearted, noble-minded and loyal to his country, his death is a great blow, and we shall realize it more and more as the years roll on."

Mayor Mims (Atlanta).—"Brightly shines the light that illumines the names of his predecessors; but forever resplendent in living letters will be the name of William McKinley. . . . . His last visit to Atlanta was as the guest of the city, as President, to

attend our notable Peace Jubilee. Perhaps even more than the peace we were called to celebrate was the actual peace message he declared in yonder capitol, when he pronounced the doom of sectionalism throughout the country, when he declared that Confederate graves and cemeteries should have the same governmental care as others; then he made himself especially beloved, not only by every true Southern man, but good men everywhere. Oh, there is the sentiment in all this too deep for utterance, for thus he touched the great warm beating heart of the South in its tenderest spot—the respect and care for their honored dead—but as the President, not of a section, but the whole people, a united people, and by this speech more united than ever before. Here was the exhibition of true greatness; nay, more, he restored back to the nation our true Southern soldiers as brigadiers in the army of the United States—Fitzhugh Lee and Joe Wheeler. They have proven to the country his patriotic wisdom. History will forever perpetuate his fame, unborn generations will call him blessed, and here on this spot, sacred above all others for the utterances he has given, let a fitting monument, pointing heavenward, be reared on which, in enduring letters, shall be inscribed the name of William McKinley."

Senator Cockrell.—"In all essential characteristics of the true American Christian citizen, soldier, statesman and official, President McKinley was the best and most illustrious exemplar of this generation for the guidance of the people of all ages."

Hon. Hoke Smith (Georgia).—Mr. McKinley rose from simple walks and through many public trusts to the highest office. His record will stand severest scrutiny. It shines with the noblest of human traits.

"He loved with all the ardor of his nature his God, his country and his fellowmen.

"We of this section owe him a special debt. It needed not Cardenas and Santiago to remove all bitterness from the Southern heart.

We had been at home in our father's house for thirty years, and we loved all its inmates; but we needed the great brain and warm heart and fervent words of this loyal lover of all States to free every thought of criticism; to show the American people the patriotism of their brethren.

"His public services have been great; his private services not less so. In the home life must be preserved the safeguard of our country's future. What an example he has set! What a standard he has raised!

"How thoughtful, how pure, how tender, as he fell back with the very wound that slew him, asking that the news be not exaggerated to the partner of his trials and his joys.

"He had lived the life of an earnest professor of faith in Jesus Christ. The highest honors could not shake his faith, or move his trust or hopes.

"To his fellowmen he did his greatest service as he died. The greatest of earthly rulers, he yielded without a murmur to the Heavenly Ruler. From his lofty elevation, from the office of Chief Magistrate over 80,000,000 people, his answer to the call was: 'It is God's way; His will, not ours, be done,' and then, with his last breath, he sang 'Nearer, My God, to Thee.'

"It was his last message to the American people and to the civilized world and it will be repeated and heard and known for years and years to come. His greatest message, his greatest service to his fellowmen, his country and his God.

"He has given up the corruptible to put on incorruption. He has given up the mortal to put on immortality, and that which was written has been brought to pass, death is swallowed up in victory.

"Thanks be to God, death had for him no sting, and even the grave was to him a victory."

Judge Emory Speer (Georgia).—"Of the man himself it is freely conceded by those who were his foemen in war, and who are his opponents in peace, that his is the highest type of the American citizen. In

his personal characteristics, he is of Washington, the noble and serene; of Madison, the persuasive and indefatigable; of Jackson, the fiery and fearless; of Lincoln, the mighty-souled and humane; of Grant, the stern and silent in battle, and the gentlest to the vanquished in victory; of Arthur, the exquisite charm of whose graceful and gentle manners will linger ever in the memory of those who knew him: of these illustrious Presidents, this unpretentious American gentleman by all, save an occasional crafty and ungenerous partisan, is deemed the worthy and meritorious successor. . . . The administration of William McKinley and its great achievements will receive proud recompense. He will live in history as the first President who directed the energies of this nation in a great and successful war beyond the seas. Greater civic renown may yet be his, but to my mind the crowning glory of his life will be found in those simple words of proffered kindly national recognition of the honor due the sacred ashes of his once incomparable foes."

Ex-Congressman H. St. George Tucker.—"I served with President McKinley in the House in the stormy Reed Congress, when feeling between the opposing parties was intense, but Major McKinley, by his uniform courtesy and kindness of manner, was never the object of personal animosities. He was my personal friend, and I shall always retain with increasing pleasure the many evidences of his friendship and his kindness of heart."

Senator Foraker.—"His fame will be chiefly associated with his conduct of the Spanish-American war, the freedom of Cuba, the acquisition of our insular territories and the solution of the many difficult and far-reaching problems arising therefrom.

"He did not seek war; on the contrary, he did all he could honorably to avert it; but when it came he did not shrink from its requirements.

"He met them with a purpose unselfishly consecrated to the honor and glory of the Republic.

"He was in reality, as in name, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and the navy of the United States. He marshaled our forces on land and on sea and struck quick and hard and everywhere.

"Not a regiment was organized, not a ship was put in commission, not a movement was made, not a battle was fought, except with his personal knowledge, approval and direction.

"The unbroken series of victories that crowned our arms and glorified our flag were his as well as those of our gallant soldiers and sailors."

Governor Odell (New York).—"I had known the President in his official position, and had learned to respect him for his many good qualities and for his devotion to duty. It seemed to me that now, when he was about to enjoy the fruits of his wise policies, and when the care and anxiety incident to his first term were to be followed in his second term by the consummation to the full of these policies, it was lamentable that he could not have been spared to rejoice with the American people over the wisdom of his course."

Senator Platt.—"In President McKinley's death the country has sustained a distinct and overwhelming loss, and those who have been associated with him in his administration, both in the advisory and in the legislative capacity, feel a most poignant sorrow. During the past four years and a half I have become greatly impressed by his admirable personality, and my respect and regard for him as a President and as a man were becoming more intense with the passage of time and the occurrence of opportunities for contact with him. His national spirit was patriotic and tolerant in the extreme. He has created a place in the affections of the people seldom acquired by presidents or kings, and his untimely demise leaves us all crushed under a burden of grief and sorrow."

John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy.—"Our mourning is great, but our mourning for his death should be less than our gratitude for his life. It is fitting that all denominations of the Christian

Church are one in the recognition of his virtues and the examples of his life. His was a life of modesty and virtue, typical of the best that is in American manhood. His was an administration more significant than any since the time of Lincoln, with whom he ranks. But, amid all the strenuous strife and turmoil of the last war, it is as a man of peace that we think of McKinley. The residents of Washington will mourn less the death of the statesman than the passing away of the fellow-citizen. It is for his many traits of kindness that he was dearly loved. The lawyer, the statesman, the President are revered and appreciated, but his simple human qualities cause McKinley to be loved most. His greatest impulse was always to do all in his power to make his fellowmen better and happier."

Dr. F. P. Venable, President University of North Carolina.—"William McKinley proved himself a good President, administering all of the affairs of his great office with conscientious fidelity to duty and with a quiet wisdom which has steadied the people under trying circumstances. He showed also in his life a high type of Christian manhood, true to his country, his loved ones and his God."

Senator J. C. Burrows.—"It may be said with truth, I think, that few men either in public or private life ever held so large and so secure a place in the affections of a people as did William McKinley. This is deservedly so. In private life and personal character he was an exemplar, and his public career was marked by sincerity, patriotism and fidelity to duty. Above all he was a Christian gentleman. President McKinley's administration will be assigned a place in American history scarcely less important than that of Washington and Lincoln. Washington guided the Ship of State in the beginning of our national voyage and with steady hand and matchless wisdom set its course. Lincoln with exalted patriotism and sublime courage rescued it from the perils of tempestuous seas threatening to engulf it. McKinley, with a love of humanity and a faith which laid hold on the Infinite, turned its prow in a new and untried course and although the port of

our destiny is not yet in view we have gone far enough to discover that it brings to us a broader horizon, enlarged opportunities and a more exalted place among the nations of the earth.

Congressman Champ Clark (Missouri).—"The twice-elected Chief of this puissant Republic is dead and the people mourn. The wail of the nation's sorrow rolls over the land like the voice of many waters.

"Moved by that wondrous touch of nature which makes the whole world kin, the people of every civilized country, from the king upon his throne to the peasant in his hovel, obeying St. Paul's injunction: 'Rejoice with them that do rejoice and weep with them that weep'—look toward our shores this day with saddened hearts and tearful eyes.

"The murder of no other public man would have astonished and shocked the people so much—for McKinley was one of the most lovable of all the sons of men. It is safe to say that no man ever had the kindly side of his nature more fully developed.

"Considering the length and eminence of his public service and the many contests in which he participated, he aroused personal animosities in a singularly small degree. Men fought his policies tooth and nail, while retaining respect and fondness for him. Most of his competitors for the prizes great and small of politics were counted among his friends. In the private relations of life he was an ideal citizen—an affectionate son, a devoted husband, a loyal friend and he discharged his official duties with such dignity and courtesy that his virtues did plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against the deep damnation of his taking off.'

"He was a cordial host and dispensed the traditional hospitalities of the White House in such hearty fashion that the humblest of his guests felt welcome within those historic walls. He was a gracious, graceful, amiable, handsome, tactful gentleman, with a rare faculty of rendering comfortable all those with whom he came in contact. He was one of the most popular men ever domiciled in that greatly coveted mansion—being much stronger than his party.

"From early boyhood to the day of his death he acted upon King Solomon's precept, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.'

"'Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings'—not only before kings but in this instance above them, for it is a higher honor to be Chief Magistrate of this Republic than to occupy any hereditary throne in Christendom or out of it; and what's more, a President who possesses the love and confidence of the American people, who is animated by their spirit and who voices their will, exercises greater power than any potentate on the whole face of the earth. This is not an idle boast but is a sober and pregnant historic fact.

"Whether country schoolmaster, private soldier, sergeant, lieutenant, captain or major, prosecuting attorney, representative in Congress, governor or president, Mr. McKinley measured up to the duties of his station.

"While having no claims to eloquence, he was a terse, luminous, forceful and impressive speaker.

"He loved learning, but one of the misfortunes of public life is that it affords little leisure for literary pursuits. Lord Bacon declared that he took all knowledge for his province. That was a gorgeous conception and it is an immeasurable loss to humanity that Bacon turned his colossal intellect—the most exquisite ever housed in human skill—from literary and philosophic ends to seeking the paltry rewards of law and the fleeting honors of politics.

"The public man must be content to cultivate an infinitesimal corner of the rich and boundless domain which the Father of the Inductive Philosophy pre-empted as his own.

"Events of gravest import and of far-reaching consequences occurred during Mr. McKinley's administration and beyond all cavil he will occupy a large place in history. For weal or woe his Presidency marks a most memorable epoch in our annals. To undertake

to fix his status among presidents and statesmen would be the merest guess work and a sheer waste of time.

"We are too close to him.

"A man's just and ultimate place in history is not determined amid the clangor of factional strife, the frenzy of partisan triumphs, or the solemn scenes of the funeral time.

"As the race of prophets is extinct, the results of the policies of which Mr. McKinley was the most masterful proponent can not be foretold with anything approximating certainty.

"The contemporary opinion in his own country touching any prominent actor in earthly affairs frequently varies widely from the verdict of posterity. The latter is the award of the court of last resort as to all human achievement and reputation.

"When Lord Bacon, who richly deserves the title of 'The Modern Solomon,' came to write his will, he incorporated into it this philosophic and prophetic sentence—the most pitiful and pathetic in our vernacular: 'For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches and to foreign nations and the next age.'

"Mr. McKinley, unlike the great Lord Chancellor, was not compelled to leave his 'name and memory to men's charitable speeches'—for there was nothing base or sordid in his nature and career as there were in Bacon's —and every tongue has something to utter in praise of him; but he can not escape—perhaps he need not fear—the judgment of 'foreign nations and the next age,' whose good opinion the illustrious Englishmen so proudly and so confidently challenged.

"Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, the most brilliant Englishman of the last half of the nineteenth century, stoutly maintained that, 'the contemporary verdict of foreign nations is identical with the verdict of posterity.' If that be true, Mr. McKinley will rank in history with the great American statesmen, for that appears to be the position to which contemporary foreign opinion has assigned him.

"In the fullness of his fame—at the zenith of his powers—at the

floodtide of such popularity as has been vouchsafed to few of the sons of Adam—he was assassinated, not because he was William McKinley the man, but solely because he was the President of the American Republic. Therefore, he died literally for his country and his country will remember him gratefully and tenderly forever.

"When Joseph Addison was upon his deathbed, he sent for his wayward stepson, a young peer of the realm, to see not how a Prime Minister of England or the Chief of the Republic of letters could die but 'how a Christian could die.'

"When the final summons came to William McKinley he died as he had lived in the simple faith of a Christian, peacefully murmuring: 'It is God's way; His will be done.'

President Roosevelt.—"Colonel Theodore Roosevelt succeeds to the Presidency under most melancholy circumstances and in most unexpected manner. He is the youngest man upon whom the tremendous responsibilities of that high station have ever fallen.

"To borrow his own favorite phrase, he has led a 'strenuous life'—not so strenuous, however, as lies before him till high noon, March 4, 1905.

"He is an enigma as a public man—an unascertained quantity in the equation of our politics—up to this time a brilliant and portentous comet of most eccentric orbit. He has been talked about and written about as much as any American now living. Indeed he has done a vast deal of talking and writing himself. He has done more things than most men and has done them all well. For several years he has been much under the lime light and has kept himself well towards the centre of the stage. He has played many parts ranging from cowboy and broncho-buster to literatus, warrior and governor—all with success. Nevertheless by reason of the very multifariousness of his pursuits any prediction as to how he will conduct himself in the White House would be wild conjecture. Sobered by his onerous duties, he may settle down and pull steadily in the traces like an old horse or he may kick and buck like an unruly colt.

"He pulled off his part of the inaugural show with such eclat as to increase the respect of all men for him. From that day to this he has grown steadily in public esteem. Mr. Vice-President Roosevelt was a great and gratifying improvement on Mr. Candidate Roosevelt. It is to be sincerely hoped both for his own sake and the country's that he will make a model President. Whatever he may do or leave undone one thing can be implicitly relied upon—his robust and thoroughgoing Americanism. He is a patriot to the very core. He is emphatically a man of his own head, courageous, resolute, honest, ambitious, self-reliant and many sided. Unless he belies his entire record, he will be the puppet of no man and of no set of men. With the hopefulness of youth, with broad scholarship, with perfect health, with indefatigable habits of industry, with an engaging personality, with happy domestic environments, with a spectacular and variegated career behind him, this soldier, statesman, author, hunter, athlete holds the greatest office known among men and has it absolutely in his own hands to become a great historic figure. He has every imaginable incentive to spur him upward and onward along the difficult but shining pathway of glory which stretches away before him. All good citizens, without regard to political alignment, wish him well. The prayer of the whole people is that he will prove equal to his great opportunity and so administer the affairs of his exalted station as to increase the love for representative government and to leave behind him a spotless and a splendid name.

The Conclusion of the Whole Matter.—"How utterly futile is the attempt of anarchists to destroy this government, of the people, by the people and for the people was thoroughly demonstrated at Buffalo when Theodore Roosevelt became our Chief Magistrate with no pomp and with the simple ceremony of taking an oath to 'faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.'

"Men may come and men may go, but thanks be to Almighty

God! this great Republic—the light and hope of the world—goes on forever.

"The conclusion of the whole matter can not be better expressed than in the sublime declaration of James A. Garfield, himself destined to a martyr's death, upon the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, our first martyred President: 'God reigns and the government at Washington still lives!'"

XXV.

THE NATIONAL AFFLICTION.

BY WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

As monuments reared by grateful hands to the memory of heroes testify to the virtues of the living as well as to the services of the dead, so the sorrow that has overwhelmed our nation, obliterating the distinctions of party, race and religion, is as complimentary to the patriotism of our people as to our departed Chief Magistrate. But it is not strange that the people bow as one man over the bier of their illustrious fellow-citizen—not strange that the solemn stillness is broken only by the chanting of the sacred hymns which he was wont to sing—not strange that all hearts turn in sympathy to the husbandless home in Canton.

An Attack Upon the Whole People.—Neither is it strange that all view with equal abhorrence the foul and bloody deed that robbed the nation of its executive, nor that all demanded with equal earnestness the speedy punishment of the offender and of any others who may have aided or counseled the commission of the crime. It would be more than strange—it would be a reproach to our people—if there were differences among us so radical that they could not be softened by the tragedy of death. It would, indeed, be a disgrace to our nation if the murder of a President concerned only the members of the dominant party. While no recent campaigns have aroused deeper feeling than those through which Mr. McKinley passed, yet in no contests did the minority more cheerfully acquiesce in the will of the majority as expressed at the polls. He was the President of all the people, and their dignity and sovereignty were attacked when he was assaulted.

No Man Dieth Unto Himself.—We are all so linked together in this world, and our joys and sorrows are so interwoven with the joys and sorrows of others that no one liveth unto himself or dieth unto himself. Even the humblest citizen cannot withdraw from earth without bringing grief to some heart, and the number of those who mourn is increased as the circle of acquaintance and influence is enlarged.

The President's position made him a part of the life of all his countrymen, and the circumstances which attended his taking-off added indignation to grief—indignation that even one murderous heart could be found in all the land, and grief that the wicked purpose of that heart should have been consummated against one so gentle in spirit and so kind in word and deed.

Government a Necessity.—Anarchy can have no defenders in the United States. Government is a necessity, and the delusion that society can exist without it is harmful even when no violence is advocated, for it is the duty of every citizen of a republic to strive to make his government perfect in every detail, and this purpose is not only weakened, but entirely destroyed by the doctrine that all governments are bad and should be overthrown. He is a friend of the government who seeks to reform every abuse and make the government an unalloyed blessing, but he is a public enemy, and should be treated as such, who weakens the authority of the law by denying that government is desirable or necessary.

If to theoretical opposition to all forms of government is added the counseling of murder as a means of removing officials, then the advisor becomes equally guilty with the assassin.

I yield to none in my appreciation of the private character and public virtues of William McKinley; I rejoice that his career so fully demonstrates the possibilities of American citizenship. The young men of the country can find inspiration and encouragement in the fact that he made his own way from obscurity to fame. Those who are

nearing the boundary of life can find consolation and example in the superb manner in which he fought his final battle—his courage and fortitude in the closing hours recalling the bravery which he displayed as a soldier. Domestic happiness has never been better illustrated than in his home life, and Christian faith and trust never better exemplified than in the way he met death.

Influence as a Statesman.—Few, if any, of our public men have been more approachable, and his generous conduct and genial ways held to the last the friends whom his genius attracted. His associates early recognized his qualities of leadership, and no statesman has exerted greater influence upon his party or upon the politics of his generation. He possessed rare ability in presenting and defending his views and has made a profound impression upon the history of his time.

The Best Things in Life are Above Politics.—The universality of the respect shown for the deceased and the genuineness of the good will manifested toward him teach a lesson that should not be forgotten, namely, that the best things in life are above and beyond the domain of politics. In campaigns the points of difference between citizens are emphasized and ofttimes exaggerated, but the points of similarity are really more numerous, more important and more permanent. In stature and in strength, in plans and in purpose, in love, in hope, in fear, and in all human needs we are much the same. A man's party affiliations may depend upon environment or even upon inheritance, but his character depends upon his own conduct and his morals are within his own keeping. It is not possible that all good should be confined to one party and all evil to another. It would be a sad day for the country if all the virtue, all the intelligence and all the patriotism were to be found in one political organization if there were another organization of any considerable size having the allegiance of all the vicious, ignorant and unpatriotic. It is unfortunate that in the heat of political controversy partisanship sometimes

becomes so strong as to cause injustice to be done to the motives of political opponents, and it should be our constant aim to place our campaigns upon so high a plane that personalities will be eliminated and the issues made to turn upon the principles involved.

Let us hope that this national affliction which unites all factions in a common sorrow will result in a broader charity and a more liberal spirit among those who by different policies and through different parties seek to promote the welfare and increase the glory of our common country.

XXVI.

THE ASSASSIN.

The day after the tragedy at Buffalo the assassin, Czolgosz, made the following statement, to which he signed his name:

"I was born in Detroit nearly twenty-nine years ago. My parents were Russian Poles. They came here forty-two years ago. I got my education in the public schools of Detroit and then went to Cleveland, where I got work. In Cleveland I read books on socialism and met a great many socialists. I was pretty well known as a socialist in the West. After being in Cleveland for several years I went to Chicago, where I remained seven months, after which I went to Newburg, on the outskirts of Cleveland, and went to work in the Newburg Wire Mills.

"During the last five years I have had as friends anarchists in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and other Western cities, and I suppose I became more or less bitter. I know I was bitter. I never had much luck at anything, and this preyed upon me. It made me morose and envious, but what started the craze to kill was a lecture I heard some little time ago by Emma Goldman. She was in Cleveland, and I and other anarchists went to hear her. She set me on fire.

Her Words Set Him on Fire.—"Her doctrine that all rulers should be exterminated was what set me to thinking, so that my head nearly split with the pain. Miss Goldman's words went right through me, and when I left the lecture I had made up my mind that I would have to do something heroic for the cause I loved.

"Eight days ago, while I was in Chicago, I read in a Chicago newspaper of President McKinley's visit to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. That day I bought a ticket for Buffalo and got here with the determination to do something, but I did not know just what. I thought of shooting the President, but I had not formed a plan.

Nowak Knew Nothing.—"I went to live at 1078 Broadway, which is a saloon and hotel. John Nowak, a Pole, a sort of politician, who has led his people here for years, owns it. I told Nowak that I came to see the fair. He knew nothing about what was setting me crazy. I went to the Exposition grounds a couple of times a day.

"Not until Tuesday morning did the resolution to shoot the President take a hold of me. It was in my heart; there was no escape for me. I could not have conquered it had my life been at stake. There were thousands of people in town on Tuesday. I heard it was President's Day. All those people seemed bowing to the great ruler. I made up my mind to kill that ruler. I bought a thirty-two calibre revolver and loaded it.

Tried Once Before.—"On Tuesday night I went to the fair grounds and was near the rear gate when the Presidential party arrived. I tried to get near him, but the police forced me back. They forced everybody back so that the great ruler could pass. I was close to the President when he got into the grounds, but was afraid to attempt the assassination, because there were so many men in the bodyguard that watched him. I was not afraid of them or that I should get hurt, but afraid I might be seized and that my chance would be gone forever.

"Well, he went away that time and I went home. On Wednesday I went to the grounds and stood right near the President, right under him near the stand from which he spoke.

Afraid He Would Miss.—"I thought half a dozen times of shooting while he was speaking, but I could not get close enough. I was afraid I would miss, and then the great crowd was always jostling, and I was afraid lest my aim fail. I waited until Wednesday, and the President got into his carriage again, and a lot of men were about him and formed a cordon that I could not get through. I was tossed about by the crowd, and my spirits were getting pretty low. I was almost hopeless that night as I went home.

"Yesterday morning I went again to the Exposition grounds. Emma Goldman's speech was still burning me up. I waited near the central entrance for the President, who was to board his special train from that gate, but the police allowed nobody but the President's party to pass where the train waited. So I stayed at the grounds all day waiting.

The Diabolical Plot.—"During yesterday I first thought of hiding my pistol under my handkerchief. I was afraid if I had to draw it from my pocket I would be seen and seized by the guards. I got to the Temple of Music the first one and waited at the spot where the reception was to be held.

"Then he came, the President—the ruler—and I got in line and trembled and trembled until I got right up to him, and then I shot him twice through my white handkerchief. I would have fired more, but I was stunned by a blow in the face—a frightful blow that knocked me down—and then everybody jumped on me. I thought I would be killed, and was surprised the way they treated me."

Really Meant to Kill.—Czolgosz ended his story in utter exhaustion. When he had about concluded he was asked:

"Did you really mean to kill the President?"

"I did," was the cold-blooded reply.

"What was your motive; what good could it do?" he was asked.

"I am an anarchist. I am a disciple of Emma Goldman. Her words set me on fire," he replied, with not the slightest tremor.

"I deny that I have had an accomplice at any time," Czolgosz told District Attorney Penney. "I don't regret my act, because I was doing what I could for the great cause. I am not connected with the Paterson group, or with those anarchists who sent Bresci to Italy to kill Humbert. I had no confidants; no one to help me. I was alone absolutely."

Immediately after the death of the President, one of the staff physicians in attendance on the President reported the opinion that

the bullets may have been poisoned. District Attorney Penney, who had possession of the assassin's revolver, ordered careful and thorough examination made. Dr. Hill was directed to make a chemical examination of the bullets and chambers and barrel of the revolver, and Dr. Herman G. Matzinger, one of the physicians who performed the autopsy upon the President's body, was ordered to make a bacteriological examination. Dr. Hill reported to the district attorney that his work showed no poison had been used.

Within a week after the President was laid to rest Czolgosz was put on his trial. He was convicted of murder in the first degree, and sentenced to death.

The trial consumed only two days. It was announced by the attorneys for Czolgosz that the eminent specialists summoned by the Erie County Bar Association and by the District Attorney to examine Czolgosz and to determine his exact mental condition had declared him to be perfectly sane. This destroyed the only chance of a defence, and the prisoner's attorneys, Judges Lewis and Titus (who had been appointed by the court), called no witnesses. The address by Judge Lewis will long be remembered. After explaining at length why it was proper that a defence should be interposed, even when a plea of guilty has been entered, he said:

"Here was a man occupying an exalted position, a man of irreproachable character. He was a man who had come here to assist us in promoting the prosperity of our great exposition, and he was shot down while holding a reception.

"His death has touched every heart in this community and in the whole world, and yet we sit here and quietly consider whether this man was responsible for the act he committed. That question is one you are called on to decide.

"The law presumes the defendant innocent until he is proven guilty, and we start with the assumption that the defendant was not

mentally responsible for the crime he committed. We have not been able to present any evidence upon our part. The defendant has even refused on almost every occasion to talk with his counsel. He has not aided us, so we have come here unaided to consider this important question. But I know there is in every human being a strong desire to live. Death is a spectre that we all dislike to meet, and here this defendant without having any animosity against our President, without any personal motive, so far as we can see, committed the act which, if he was sane, must cause his death. How can a man with a sane mind perform such an act? The rabble in the streets will say, no matter whether he is insane or not, he deserves to be killed.

"The law, however, says that you must consider the circumstances and see if he was in his right mind or not when he committed the deed. If you find he was not responsible you will aid in lifting a great cloud from the minds of the people of this country. If the beloved President had met with a railroad accident and been killed our grief could not compare with what it is now. If you find he met his fate through the act of an insane man it is the same as though he met it by accident. I had the profoundest respect for President McKinley. I watched him in Congress and during his long public career, and he was one of the noblest men God ever made. His policy we care nothing about, but it always met with my profoundest respect. His death was the saddest blow to me that has occurred in many years."

Judge Lewis was weeping when he finished, and the eyes of many of those in the court room were filled with tears.

In summing up the case for the State, District Attorney Penney said:

"It is a great lesson that so great a man can stoop so low, that he was so great that he could forgive his own assassin. He was the noblest man, I believe, God ever created. A man who stood near him in the Temple of Music said to me: 'I have traveled in all parts of the world, and have seen people assembled to greet their rulers, but when

I saw the people stand in the railroad stations and along the country through which the funeral train passed, that they might get a look at the casket of the great man, I was convinced as never before that there is such a thing as a national heart.'

"The national heart was broken, and it will take God's way and time to heal it.

No Home for Anarchists.—"It was broken by a class of people who are coming to our country in increasing numbers, and while harbored by our laws are propagating their malicious views; a class of people that must be taught that we have no place for them on our shores; a class of people that must be taught that they can't take the life of anyone irrespective of consequences.

"Think again, gentlemen. Here is a man who does not want a lawyer, who does not believe in God nor in law, a man who does not believe in the married relation; yet our laws are such that he is defended by two of the ablest jurists in our city, as if he was the most respected defendant; and even though he comes into court and says he was guilty, yet, gentlemen, you are required under the Constitution to listen to the formal presentation of the evidence, notwithstanding the fact that this man says he does not want it."

When the verdict of the jury was announced there was no demonstration—only a general sigh of relief. The prisoner maintained the same air of utter unconcern that had marked his course ever since the tragedy. He did not even raise his eyes.

THE EXECUTION OF CZOLGOSZ.

The final scene of the great tragedy of September 6, 1901, took place in Auburn (N. Y.) Prison at seven o'clock of Tuesday morning, October 29. The condemned murderer had been conveyed to the prison September 27, and there confined for one month, as the New York law does not allow the execution of a capital sentence under thirty days of its passage. During this time every inducement was made to make the prisoner commit himself fully by confession, but to the end he resolutely disclaimed that he was either a member of any anarchist association or had any accomplice in his crime. Nor did he show remorse or shrink from the penalty that had been pronounced upon his deed. In not a few respects he proved an enigma, unless we conclude that he was a pervert so degenerate as scarcely to be able to distinguish right from wrong. Educated in the common schools of Detroit, Czolgosz had such advantages as fall to the common lot of men, but so far from improving them, his brutish nature found vent in the practicing of unnatural crimes, and thus weakening a naturally morbid mind he came to be a mental outcast. The apparent indifference to his fate which he manifested was therefore neither stoicism nor bravado, but rather failure of his powers of comprehension, or in hopelessness his desire to have extinguished a life that had become disfigured through self-abuse.

Indifference of the Condemned.—There was about the prison on the morning of the execution the usual crowd of curious persons and seekers of notoriety, who came with many propositions to pay a price for sight of the condemned man, for a bit of his clothing, or a memento from his hand, but Warden Mead frustrated all these attempts, and made the last scenes as little sensational as circumstances permitted.

The condemned man was permitted an interview with his brother the evening before the execution, but his words were monosyllables

sorry I could not see my father." These were his last words, for the straps were immediately adjusted, and at 7.12 Electrician Davis pulled the switch that sent 1,700 volts coursing through the victim. Death was, no doubt, instantaneous, for the body strained so hard against the leather straps that they creaked shockingly, while the hands clutched, and the whole attitude was one of extreme tenseness. The current was on for forty-five seconds, and then cut off, whereupon the body collapsed instantly. Again the great voltage was repeated, and even a third time, followed always by rigidity of the body, which became limp at once when the current was shut off. At 7.15 the execution was complete, and pronouncement of the fact was made by the warden two seconds later. The witnesses were visibly affected, particularly when the body was lifted from the death chair and laid upon an operating table preparatory to an autopsy being made by Drs. Gerin and McDonald. Examination of the brain disclosed the fact that it was slightly above normal in weight and perfectly healthy.

The body of Czolgosz being unclaimed by his relatives it was buried in the prison yard, in quicklime and vitriol, to insure its complete destruction in twelve hours.

The law had been vindicated and the murder of our beloved President avenged.

XXVII.

LESSONS OF THE TRAGEDY.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN,
President Leland Stanford University

All Violence is Treason.—One plain lesson is this: Under democracy all violence is treason. Whosoever throws a stone at a scab teamster, whosoever fires a shot at the President of the United States, is an enemy of the Republic. He is guilty of high treason in his heart, and treason in thought works itself out in lawlessness of action.

The central fact of democracy is agreement with law. It is our law: we have made it. If it is wrong we can change it, but the compact of democracy is that we change it in peace. "The sole source of power under God is the consent of the governed." This Cromwell wrote once across the statute books of Parliament. This, in other words, our fathers wrote in our own Constitution. The will of the people is the sole source of any statute you or I may be called on to obey. It is the decree of no army, the dictum of no President. It is the work of no aristocracy; not of blood nor of wealth. It is simply our own understanding that we shall do right, shall behave justly, shall live and let our neighbor live. If our law is tyrannous it is our ignorance which has made it so. Let it pinch a little and we shall find out what hurts us. Then it will be time to change. Laws are made through the ballot, and through the ballot we can unmake them. There is no other honest way, no other way that is safe and no other way which is effective. To break the peace is to invite tyranny. Lawlessness is the expression of weakness, of ignorance, of unpatriotism. If tyranny

provokes anarchy so does anarchy necessitate tyranny. Confusion brings the man on horseback. It was to keep away both anarchy and tyranny that the public school was established in America.

The Shadow of Humiliation.—Three times has our nation been called upon to pass into the shadow of humiliation, and each time in the past its severe lesson it has learned. When Lincoln fell, slavery perished. To the American of to-day human slavery in a land of civilization is almost an impossible conception, yet many of us who think ourselves still young can remember when half of this land held other men in bondage and the dearest hope of freedom was that such things should not go on forever. I can remember when we looked forward to the time when "at least the present form of slavery should be no more." For democracy and slavery could not subsist together. The Union could not stand—half slave, half free.

The last words of Garfield were these: "Strangulatus pro republica," "slain for the Republic." The feudal tyranny of the spoils system which had made Republican administration a farce has not had, since Garfield's time, a public defender. It has not vanished from our politics, but its place is where it belongs, among the petty wrongs of maladministration.

Again a President is slain for the Republic—and the lesson is the homely one of peace and order, patience and justice, respect for ourselves through respect for law, for public welfare and for public right.

Lawless Sensationalism.—For this country is passing through a time of storm and stress, a flurry of lawless sensationalism. The irresponsible journalism, the industrial wars, the display of hastily gotten wealth, the grasping of monopoly, the walking delegate, the vulgar cartoon, the sympathetic strike, the unsympathetic lockout, the foul-mouthed agitator, are all symptoms of a single disease, the loss of patriotism, the decay of the sense of justice. As in other cases, the symptoms feed the disease, as well as indicate it. The deed of

violence breeds more deeds of violence; anarchy provokes hysteria and hysteria makes anarchy. The unfounded scandal sets a hundred tongues to wagging, and the sweepage from the gutter reaches a thousand homes.

The journal for the weak-minded and debased makes heroes of those of its class who carry folly over into crime. The half-crazed egotist imagines himself a regicide, and his neighbor with the clean shirt is his oppressor, and therefore his natural victim. Usually his heart fails him and his madness spends itself in foul words. Sometimes it does not and the world stands aghast. But it is not alone against the Chief Magistrate that these thoughts and deeds are directed. There are usually others within closer range. There is scarcely a man in our country, prominent in any way, statesman, banker, merchant, railway manager, clergyman, teacher even, that has not somewhere his would-be Nemesis, some lunatic with a sensational newspaper and a pistol prepared to take his life.

The Gospel of Discontent.—The gospel of discontent has no place within our Republic. It is true, as has been often said, that discontent is the cause of human progress. It is truer still, as Mr. John P. Irish has lately pointed out, that discontent may be good or bad, according to its relation to the individual man. There is a noble discontent which a man turns against himself. It leads the man who fails to examine his own weaknesses to make the needed repairs in himself, then to take up the struggle again. There is the cowardly discontent which leads a man to blame all failure on his prosperous neighbor, or on society at large, as if a social system existed apart from the men who made it. This is the sort of discontent to which the agitator appeals, that finds its stimulus in sensational journalism. It is that which feeds the frenzy of the assassin who would work revenge on society by destroying its accepted head.

Hatred of Class for Class.—It is not theoretical anarchism or socialism or any other "ism" which is responsible for this. Many of the

gentlest spirits in the world to-day call themselves anarchists, because they look forward to the time when personal meekness shall take the place of all statute. The gentle anarchism of the optimistic philosopher is not that which confronts us to-day. It is the anarchy of destruction, the hatred of class for class, a hatred that rests only on distorted imagination, for after all is said, there are no classes in America. It is a hatred imported from the Old World, excited by walking delegates, whose purpose is to carry a torch through society, fanned by agitators of whatever sort, unpractical dreamers or conscienceless scoundrels, exploited in the newspapers, abetted by so-called high society, with its display of shoddy and greed, and intensified by the cold hard selfishness which underlies the power of the trust. All these people, monopolists, social leaders, walking delegates, agitators, sensationalists, dreamers, are alien to our ways, outside the scope of our democracy, and enemies to good citizenship.

The real Americans, trying to live their lives in their own way, saving a little of their earnings and turning the rest into education and enjoyment, have many grievances in these days of grasping trusts and lawless unions. But of such free Americans our country is made. They are the people, not the trusts nor the unions, nor their sensational go-betweens. This is their government, and government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth. This is the people's President—our President who was killed, and it is ours to avenge him.

Not by lynch law on a large or small scale may we do it, not by anarchy or despotism, not by the destruction of all who call themselves anarchists, not abridging freedom of the press, nor by checking freedom of speech. Those who would wreak lawless vengeance on the anarchists are themselves anarchists and makers of anarchists.

Laws Enough.—We have laws enough already without making more for men to break. Let us get a little closer to the higher law. Let us respect our own rights and those of our neighbor a little

better. Let us cease to tolerate sensational falsehood about our neighbors, or vulgar abuse of those in power. If we have bad rulers let us change them peacefully. Let us put an end to every form of intimidation wherever practised. The cause that depends upon hurling rocks or epithets, on clubbing teamsters or derailing trains cannot be a good cause. Even if originally in the right, the act of violence puts the partisans of such a cause in the wrong. No freeman ever needs to do such things as these. For the final meaning of democracy is peace on earth, good will toward men. When we stand for justice among ourselves we can demand justice of the monopolistic trust. When we attack it with clear vision and cool speech we shall find the problem of combination for monopoly not greater than any other. And large or small, there is but one way for us to meet any problem; to choose wise men, clean men, cool men, the best we can secure through our method of the ballot, and then to trust the rest in their hands. The murder of the President has no direct connection with industrial war. Yet there is this connection, that all war, industrial or other, loosens the bonds of order, destroys mutual respect and trust, gives inspiration to anarchy, pushes a foul thought on to a foul word, a foul word on to a foul deed.

We trust that now that the worst has come, the foulest deed has been committed, that our civil wars may stop, not through the victory of one side or the other, the trusts or the unions now set off against each other, but in the victory over both of the American people, of the great body of men and women who must pay for all, and who are the real sufferers in every phase of the struggle.

The Lesson of Manliness and Godliness.—"Strangulatus pro republica;" "Slain for the Republic." The lesson is plain. It is for us to take it into our daily lives. It is the lesson of peace and good will, the lesson of manliness and godliness. Let us take it to ourselves, and our neighbors will take it from us.

All civilized countries are ruled by public opinion. If there be a

lapse in our civic duties, it is due to a lapse in our keenness of vision, our devotion to justice. This means a weakening of the individual men, the loss of the man himself in the movements of the mass. Perhaps the marvelous material development of our age, the achievements of the huge co-operation which science has made possible has overshadowed the importance of the individual man. If so, we have only to reassert ourselves. It is of men, individual men, clear-thinking, God-fearing, sound-acting men, and of these alone, that great nations can be made.

XXVIII.

THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN.

The nation has had many grave days; many direful times when the lamp of the Republic was so fanned by the flame of terrible event as to seem near to extinguishment; most awful, appalling, disastrous, was the murder, through hellish hate, inspired by insane rabidness, political rancor, and anarchist madness, of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley.

During the dreadful period of internecine strife, when for four years the country, dismembered by fratricidal conflict, ran red with slaughter, the public mind became so accustomed to tales of blood-lust as to be merciless, sanguinary, almost insensate. Cheeks no longer paled with terror, nor did the heart beat with fear when reports from gory battlefields numbered the wounded and slain, for there was revenge rankling in the breasts of the defeated and exaltation in the hearts of the victors, for war turns humanity back to savagery, so little removed is the race in instinct from the primal condition of thirst for the blood of enemies.

Sorrow in the South.—But although men and women had been schooled by a long experience of civil war to read with almost composure details of sanguinary encounters, never was there a greater, more terrorizing, or horrific shock administered than that felt by citizens of the Union when there was flashed over the wires the awful news of President Lincoln's assassination. And it may be said also, that the effect was scarcely less terrible in the South than it was in the North, for such a deed, damnable, as it was direful, could never be suggested, much less approved by a brave and chivalrous people as are those of the South. The act was that of a fanatic, and therefore purely personal as has since been clearly proved. Commenting upon it afterwards

Jefferson Davis, speaking for the South, as well as expressing his own sentiments, said, "Next to the destruction of the Confederacy, the death of Abraham Lincoln was the darkest day the South has ever known." This utterance was made ten years after the war, but was nevertheless in consonance with the feelings he had declared many times before, as well also in line with sentiments publicly announced by many other distinguished Southerners.

The assassination of Lincoln occurred on the night of the fourteenth of April, 1865, at a time when the triumph of the Union arms was practically complete, and reconciliation of the long estranged sections occupied his thoughts and impelled his noblest purpose, for his second inaugural speech, "with malice towards none, with charity for all," foreshadowed the magnanimity of his heart and the generosity of his designs in dealing with the South, when peace, which was evidently near at hand, should fold her weary pinions and set her feet again upon the distressed land.

Lincoln's Warning in a Dream.—Lincoln had a premonition of his fate. Perhaps this was but natural, considering the excited condition of the country at the time, when blood was held cheaply and men's passions led them readily to murder; so there may have been nothing occult in his apprehension that he was to fall victim to an assassin. But, nevertheless, this story, related in Hapgood's "Abraham Lincoln," is well worth retelling:

"The President referred a few days before the end to the number of warnings by dreams in the Bible, the book which had of late taken such a hold upon him. Finally he said:

" 'About ten days ago I retired very late. I had been waiting for important dispatches from the front. I could not have been long in bed when I fell into a slumber, for I was weary. I soon began to dream. There seemed to be a deathlike stillness about me. Then I heard subdued sobs, as if a number of people were weeping. I thought I left my bed and wandered downstairs. There the silence was broken by the same pitiful sobbing, but the mourners were invisible.

"'I went from room to room; no living person was in sight, but the same mournful sounds of distress met me as I passed along. It was light in all the rooms; every object was familiar to me; but where were all the people who were grieving as if their hearts would break? I was puzzled and alarmed. What could be the meaning of all this? Determined to find the cause of a state of things so mysterious and so shocking, I kept on until I arrived at the East Room, which I entered. There I met with a sickening surprise. Before me was a catafalque on which rested a corpse wrapped in funeral vestments. Around it were stationed soldiers, who were acting as guards, and there was a throng of people, some gazing mournfully upon the corpse, whose face was covered, others weepingly pitifully.

"'"Who is dead in the White House?" I demanded of one of the soldiers.

"'"The President," was the answer; "he was killed by an assassin!"

"'Then came a loud burst of grief from the crowd, which awoke me from my dream. I slept no more that night, and although it was only a dream, I have been strangely annoyed by it ever since.'"

This dream lingered in his mind to the day of his death. On the very eve of his assassination he quoted to Lamon:

"To sleep, perchance to dream. Ay, there's the rub!"

Killed in the Theatre.—It was on the evening of April 14, 1865, a few minutes after ten o'clock, that Mr. Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth in a private box at Ford's Theatre. The play was "Our American Cousin," and the famous actress, Laura Keene, had the principal part. After firing the fatal shot, the murderer sprang down to the stage, but caught one of his spurs in the flag with which the box was draped, and fell heavily. Though his ankle was broken by this accident he was up again in an instant, and took time to strike an attitude and cry to the audience, *"Sic semper tyrannis,"* "so be it ever to tyrants," which is the motto of Virginia, before taking flight. Only one person in the theatre, Major Stewart, had the presence of mind

to pursue the murderer, climbing upon the stage and running after him down the alley where Booth had left his horse in charge of a boy. But the assassin by this time was mounted, and with a confederate named Harold he fled. He got safely over into Maryland, and eleven days elapsed before he was finally cornered in a burning barn on Garrett's farm, where he was shot to death by Sergeant Boston Corbett. Corbett acted without orders, as the last instructions given by Colonel Baker had been to take the assassin alive.

Five of the misguided man's co-conspirators were tried and four of them, Payne, Harold, Atzerodt and Mrs. Surratt, were hanged. Dr. Mudd was sent to the Dry Tortugas for a number of years, where he did so much good among yellow fever sufferers that he was pardoned and returned home, where he finally died. John Surratt, husband of the woman that was hanged, fled to Italy, entered the Papal Guards, but was afterwards discovered and brought back to this country, but he escaped condemnation.

The fatally wounded President was carried across the street from the theatre to the house of William Petersen, where he died at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock next morning. At nine o'clock the body was taken to the White House, where it remained in the East Room until the nineteenth. Then it was removed to the Capitol, and lay there in state, to be viewed by thousands, until April 22, when the body was taken by special train through Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York and Indiana to Springfield, Ill., where it was buried. At half a dozen cities it lay in state, and millions of people gazed—as they had done in his dream—"mournfully upon the corpse; others weeping pitifully."

Disposition of Booth's Remains.—Wilkes Booth was buried in the penitentiary at Washington. When part of the prison was torn down his remains were taken up and interred beneath the floor of a storehouse now occupied as barracks by the War Department. Relatives obtained permission, near the close of Johnson's administration, to

remove them, and the task was accomplished as quietly as possible, the services of an undertaker being engaged.

This undertaker's shop happened to be just around the corner from Ford's Theatre. About 7 p. m. a wagon drove into the alley alongside of the theatre and stopped in the rear of the undertaker's. This, oddly enough, was the same alley in which Booth had left his horse to be held while he went into the theatre to accomplish a crime that was destined to startle the world. The wagon unloaded a pine box containing a body, which was carefully examined and duly identified with the help of a dentist, who had filled the teeth. Then it was put into a coffin and shipped by rail at night to Baltimore, where it was interred in the Booth burial lot at Greenmount Cemetery.

Beecher's Oration on Lincoln.—In a speech in Brooklyn on the Sunday following the assassination of Lincoln, Henry Ward Beecher said:

"Never did two such orbs of experience meet in one hemisphere as the joy" (over the surrender of Lee) "and the sorrow of the same week in this land. The joy was as sudden as if no man had expected it, and as entrancing as if it had fallen a sphere from heaven. It rose up over sobriety, and swept business from its moorings, and ran down through the land in irresistible course. Men embraced each other in brotherhood that were strangers in the flesh. They sang or prayed; or, deeper yet, many could only think thanksgiving and weep gladness. That peace was sure; that government was firmer than ever; that the land was cleansed of plague; that the ages were opening to our footsteps, and we were to begin a march of blessings; that blood was staunched and scowling enmities were sinking like storms beneath the horizon; that the dear fatherland, nothing lost, much gained, was to rise up in unexampled honor among the nations of the earth—these thoughts and that undistinguishable throng of fancies, and hopes, and desires, and yearnings, that filled the soul with tremblings like the heated air of midsummer days—all these kindled up such a surge of joy as no words may describe.

"In one hour joy lay without a pulse, without a gleam of breath. A sorrow came that swept through the land as huge storms sweep through the forest and field, rolling thunder along the sky, disheveling the flowers, daunting every singer in thicket or forest, and pouring blackness and darkness across the land and up the mountains. Did ever so many hearts, in so brief a time, touch two such boundless feelings? It was the uttermost of joy; the uttermost of sorrow—noon and midnight, without a space between."

XXIX.

THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD.

Is it not a noteworthy fact that in all the attempts made upon the lives of our Presidents, the murderers have used the pistol? To do so with certainty it is necessary for the assassin to approach very close to his victim, and this proximity must surely prevent escape after the deed is done. In Europe the favorite weapon has been the dagger, as in the assaults on Henry IV., Carnot, Empress Elizabeth of Austria, and the Shah of Persia; or by the bomb, as in the attempts on Alexander II. and Napoleon III. This method of attack appears remarkable when we consider how much more certain is the rifle—as used to assassinate Governor Goeble, of Kentucky, and the fact that the rifle is more deadly, the use of it from an upper window may increase the chance of escape of the culprit. In Europe, where attempts to kill rulers is not a very uncommon thing, it is still more strange that recourse is had to the knife and pistol, since so few are successful, when it must be known to the would-be assassin that a ruler cannot by any means be protected, when passing through a street, from a rifle bullet fired from such a vantage point as a second or third story window.

Every Man's Hand Against Assassins.—The killing of Lincoln was by the use of a pistol, and the deed was as well planned perhaps as it could have been, for the assassin succeeded in escaping, but his identity being fully revealed, his apprehension was certain, as it must always be of villains who perpetrate such nameless iniquities, for all the world will aid in hunting them down.

The sixteen years of peace that had intervened gave a sense of security, for the crime of assassination had gone completely out of public mind. Political campaigns had been as exciting and rancor-

ous as theretofore, but no one thought of murder as a means to overcome or harm political party or adversary. A bitter contention within the Republican ranks, with Conkling on one side and Blaine on the other, a battle of speech and influence, between "stalwarts" and "half-breeds," distressed Republican leaders by causing them to fear for their party's supremacy, but there was no suggestion in this of any crime premeditated, or that the rivalry, fierce as it was, would result in anything more serious than a deposition from leadership of one of the factions. But often it is when security seems greatest that disaster befalls, and so it was with President Garfield.

Murder Personified.—"Whoever shall hereafter draw a portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited, where such example was least to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

Thus quoted Mr. Blaine in his oration on Garfield in the House of Representatives on February 27, 1882. He had been with the President, walking arm-in-arm through the waiting room of the Pennsylvania Railroad Station on the morning of July 2, 1881, when Guiteau, creeping up behind, had given the President his death wound. He had caught the stricken man as he fell; he had assisted him to a seat and had called for help; and to all public men who had been affected by the blow against the chief executive, James G. Blaine, man of emotion and a poet's temperament, had felt the wound most deeply.

The day on which Garfield was shot was bright, warm and beautiful. He was on his way to the station to go, with members of his Cabinet, to New York and thence to join his family at Elberon, N. J. He had been particularly cheerful during the drive to the

station, and was walking with springy step and well-raised head when two pistol shots rang out. The first did not strike him, the second hit him in the back, plowed through muscles and flesh and hid itself away to defy the search of surgeons while it ate out the life of the victim.

The Battle with Death.—Guiteau, the assassin, did not attempt to escape. "Now we will have a 'stalwart administration!'" he cried, as men sprang upon him and wrested the still smoking revolver from his hands. He was hurried to the police station before the few people around the depot could recover from the shock of the tragedy sufficiently to make a rush for him. There he was searched, and on him was found a letter in which the shooting of the President was referred to as "a sad necessity," and the hope was expressed that the action would "unite the Republican party and save the Republic."

Garfield lingered for more than two months. The surgeons and physicians gave him the best attention that the medical science of that day had fitted them for; they searched diligently for the bullet, but, as the post-mortem developed, they searched in the wrong direction and never found it. There were no X-rays twenty years ago; and antiseptics and other aids of surgeons were practically or perhaps wholly unknown. Day by day the country alternated between hope and fear. Favorable reports were issued, only to be followed by unfavorable ones. For a long while the wounded man lay in the White House to which he had been taken immediately after the shooting; but the terrific heat of the summer caused the medical men to grant his oft-repeated request to be taken to within sight of the sea, and on September 6 he was taken to Elberon, N. J. Nine days later blood poisoning developed, and, after a few hours of unconsciousness, he died peacefully on September 19. His body was taken back to Washington by special train and lay in state in the rotunda of the Capitol for two days. A long special train took the body to Cleveland, Ohio, where it was buried beside Lake Erie on September 26.

The Trial of Guiteau.—The attorneys for Guiteau, the assassin, advanced the plea of insanity, and a hard fight for his life was made in a trial that was remarkable in many ways. But the verdict was death, and Guiteau was hanged in Washington City, June 30, 1882, and his body being dissected, the skeleton was placed in the Medical Museum, where it still remains, though not labeled.

The memorial services in honor of Garfield, held in the hall of the House of Representatives on February 27, 1882, were the most splendidly solemn that the history of the United States has so far recorded. Mr. Blaine was the orator; the audience was comprised of President Arthur, the Cabinet, all members of the Diplomatic Corps, distinguished men from all over the country, and people from all walks of life.

Blaine's Famous Oration on Garfield.—Mr. Blaine's oration was a masterpiece. He followed the life of his subject closely from boyhood to the grave, illuminating the biography with brilliant anecdotes that were at once dignified and full of the character of Garfield; and his peroration was such a burst of poetry, such a symphony of phrase, as has seldom been heard:

"Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for one short moment, in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell; what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendship, what bitter rending of sweet household ties!

"Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day, and every day rewarding, a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demands. And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the winepress alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

"As the end drew near his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from his prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or die, as God should will, within sight of the heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face, tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully on the ocean's changing wonders; on its fair sails; on its restless waves rolling shoreward, to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning."

THE SHOOTING OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN, BY J. WILKES BOOTH, IN A BOX OF FORD'S THEATRE, WASHINGTON CITY ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 14, 1865.

The President was conveyed to a house across the street, where he died early the following morning.

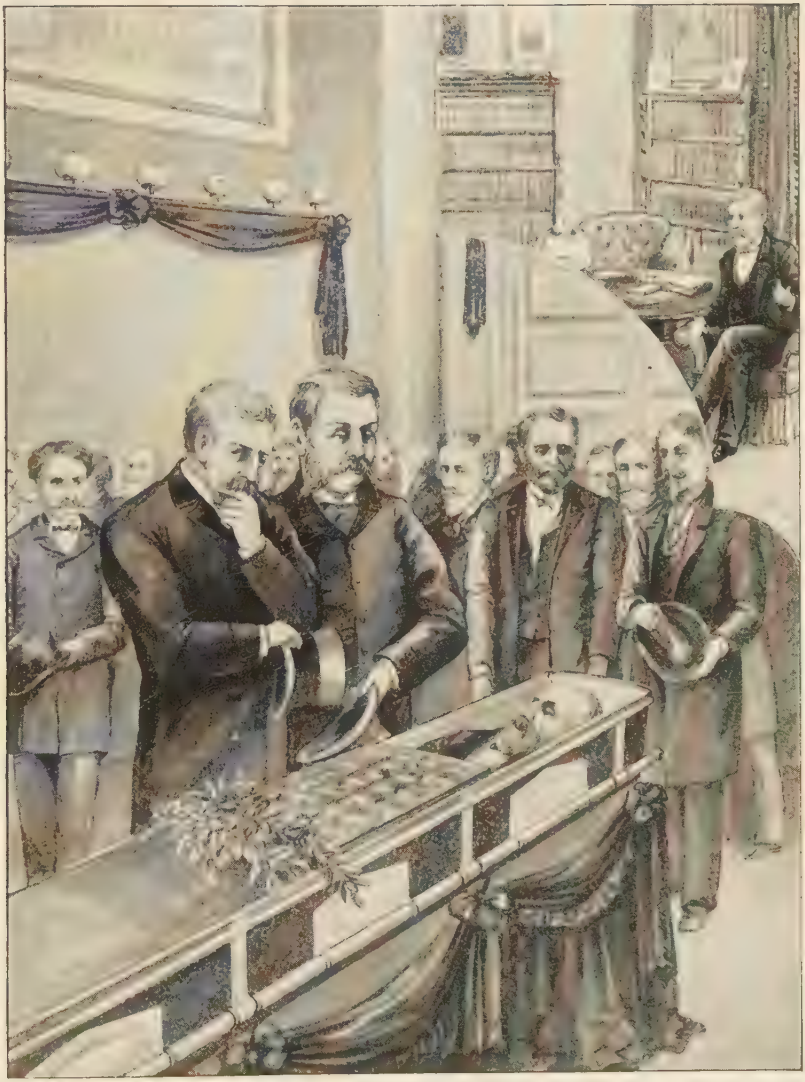
SHOOTING OF J. WILKES BOOTH, BY SERGEANT BOSTON CORBETT, IN A BURNING BARN ON THE GARRETT FARM, CAROLINE COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

His remains were dragged from the fired building and conveyed, with Harold, co-conspirator, captured at the time, to Washington, where it was secretly disposed of.

THE SHOOTING OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD, BY CHARLES GUITEAU, IN THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD DEPOT, WASHINGTON CITY, JULY 2, 1881.

The President was accompanied at the time by Hon. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State. The wounds, two in number, were not immediately fatal, and hope of recovery was entertained until six weeks later a sudden change for the worse took place and the President died at Elberon, N. J., September 19. Guiteau was hanged for the crime, June 30, 1882.

MEN OF MARK. THE CLOSING OF THE CAREER OF JAMES G BLAINE.



LAST VIEW OF THE REMAINS OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD. IMPORTANT INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND FAMILY.

ROOSEVELT ISSUING A FIELD ORDER, CUBA.

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COLONEL ROOSEVELT IN THE FIELD, CUBA.

TRANSPORTS CONVEYING THE ARMY OF INVASION TO CUBA.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT. CHARGE UP SAN JUAN HILL.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT. THE FIGHT ON SAN JUAN HILL.

IMPORTANT INCIDENTS—THE BLOWING UP OF THE MERRIMAC.

THE CAPITOL BUILDING, ALBANY, N. Y.

OUR HERO PRESIDENT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The Story of His Strenuous Life as a Student, Plainsman, Hunter, Author, Politician, Reformer, Governor, Soldier and Statesman

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CHIVALRY, MAGNANIMITY, DAUNTLESS COURAGE, INFLEXIBLE HONESTY, LOFTY PURPOSE, MAKE UP THE MAN

What the Nation has Reason to Expect from so Resolute a Chief

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

XXX.

OUR HERO PRESIDENT.

Alfred the chivalrous, England's boast for a thousand years; Charlemagne, courier of militant Christianity, hero in the hour of extremity; Barbarossa, ruler over adversity, strongest when greatest perils beset; Henry of Navarre, knightly and impetuous; Charles XII., invincible of spirit, resolute when his star of destiny paled; Peter the Great, strenuous, industrious, indomitable; Frederick the Great who raised the flower victory from the dust of defeat; Lincoln, the glorified, who faltered not before mighty trials of state.—These are world examples of the resistless power of determination co-operating with genius of leadership. Tremendous events never fail to bring forth men to meet and successfully use them as means for promoting the cause of country, people, civilization. The occasion was a measureless one that elevated Theodore Roosevelt to the position of Chief Magistrate of the strongest government of the earth; the soundless grief of a nation's woe: the sorrowings of a people bereft of a beloved President, whose precious life was extinguished by the fell hand of a worse than hellish traitor. It was amid the gloom of national anguish —the red terrorism of assassination, the blood of martyrdom, and cries of horror that will re-echo up and down the ways of centuries—that Roosevelt was called suddenly to take the place of the stricken chieftain; and in an hour the tear-stained faces of 80,000,000 Americans acclaimed him with loyal hearts and patriotic devotion. The exigency, great, alarming, brought forth a leader full panoplied to meet it; the fear of panic, the dread of timid investment, and the spectre of politi-

cal anarchy was quickly dispelled by national consciousness that the standard, though crimsoned and fallen in the dust of a people's alarm, was recovered and raised high where all might see it waving, by a hand and heart as daring, knightly, sturdy, and wholly American as that of Theodore Roosevelt. In him there seems to flow, in well-proportioned commingle ment, the heroic blood of Alfred, Charlemagne, Peter, Frederick, Henry, and Barbarossa, but there is no less certainly to be discerned the temper of wise statesmanship that animates, and the sagacious charity, the splendid magnanimity, the power to feel the public heart, that immortalized Lincoln and distinguished McKinley.

How Greatness Masks Itself.—Real greatness manifests itself in many ways, just as it wears the masks of many characters. One may be gentle, charitable, domestic, deferential, and yet when put to the test of power the deeply covered seed of tyranny may quickly flower into fullest growth. So may one ever animated by a vigorous spirit, a fearless, seemingly adventurous, tireless and audacious leader in escapades that test the nerve of courage, be as suddenly quieted to the most serious, just, and approved judgments by the exigency of heavy responsibilities. And history is illuminated by so many illustrations of these contrasts of character playing impressive parts for human and for national betterment, that we have come to expect most from those who exhibit the most striking characteristics. The boy who at play strikes the ball farthest, or in the race outstrips his challenger, has that ambition and capacity which will make him push resolutely in the competitions of life, and it is this push that wins the goal. These observations are unavoidable when we consider the life of Theodore Roosevelt, since his has been a peculiarly marked and stirring one, for a parallel to which we may indeed search history in vain.

Roosevelt as an Author.—It is in many pursuits, athlete, reformer, politician, statesman, official, and book-writer that President Roosevelt

has proved his versatility, and remarkable capacities. In not a few respects he betrays Napoleonic character, but without a taint of those faults of Napoleon that led to his overthrow. And that Roosevelt has a studious, well-balanced, even philosophical mind, is thoroughly manifested by his literary ambitions and creations. A college graduate, he has the theoretical training, and winning honors in competitive examinations he has the ambition to excel in purely intellectual undertakings, as well also a knowledge of the practical side of life.

Notwithstanding his diversified public activities Roosevelt must have devoted himself assiduously to literary labors, in order to have produced the following books, viz: In 1881, the year after his college graduation, he published "The Naval War of 1812." Although he was only twenty-three years of age when he wrote this work, it is accepted as the most exhaustive, graphic, sterling and stirring history on that subject that has ever been given to the world. After writing "The War of 1812," Roosevelt went West and settled upon a ranch in Dakota, where he became a rancher and accepted willingly all the hardships and rough experiences such a life must endure. Having thus qualified himself for the task, he wrote "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," which appeared in 1885. So thrilling are many of the adventures therein recounted, and so true is the plainsman's life painted, that this book must take rank with the very best works having "the West" for a subject.

His Most Important Works.—His residence a ranch for quite four years, with little to disturb his naturally reflective mind, Roosevelt employed much of his time in a study of national questions, and of distinguished public men, their characters and services. In pursuing these politico-biographic investigations he wrote and published in 1886 "The Life of Thomas H. Benton," and in the following year appeared from his pen "The Life of Gouverneur Morris," both being issued in the "American Statesmen Series," to which is admitted the productions of only the best writers. The next year, 1888, was published his

most popular work, "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," which though a record of facts and observation, is as interesting as any of Cooper's "Leather Stocking Tales." It is a book redolent with the odors, abounding with the adventures, and vitalizing and exciting with the wild freedom which the plains suggest. Subsequently there have appeared from his versatile and virile pen the following works, in the order named, "The Winning of the West," "History of New York City," "The Strenuous Life," "American Ideals," "The Wilderness Hunter," "Oliver Cromwell," and "The Rough Riders." In addition to this list of what may be called his most pretentious book works, he has written and published in magazines essays on "Reform Methods in Politics," "Stay-at-Homes in Politics," "Machine Rule," "Partisanship and What It Entails," and "Political Crooks." In these essays, which have had an extensive circulation, he gives utterance to the boldest declarations against all the evils that afflict the national, state and municipal well-being, and vigorously assails the abuses of corporate institutions. A measure of the man, and the President, may be taken by these sentences from his essays:

Political Epigrams and Wise Counsel.—"The man who debauches our public life,whether by malversation of funds in office, by the actual bribery of legislators, or by the corrupt use of the offices as spoils wherewith to reward the unworthy or vicious for their noxious and interested activity in the baser walks of political life—this man is a greater foe to our well-being as a nation than is even the defaulting cashier of a bank or the betrayer of a private trust."

"We need fearless criticism of our public men and public parties. We need unsparing condemnation of all persons and all principles that count for evil in our public life."

"Wrongs should be strenuously and fearlessly denounced. Evil principles and evil men should be condemned. The politician who cheats or swindles, or the newspaper man who lies in any form, should be made to feel that he is an object of scorn for all honest men."

"There are plenty of scoundrels always ready to try to belittle reform movements or to bolster up existing iniquities in the name of Americanism."

"The man who is content to let politics go from bad to worse, jesting at the corruption of politicians; the man who is content to see the maladministration of justice without an immediate and resolute effort to reform it, is shirking his duty, and is preparing the way for infinite woe in the future."

"If we had no independence we should always be running the risk of the most degraded kind of despotism—the despotism of the party boss and the party machine."

"The prevention of blackmail and corruption, the repression of crime and violence, safeguarding of life and property, securing honest elections and renewing efficient and punishing inefficient public service, are not and cannot properly be made questions of party differences."

"Every man who wishes well to his country is in honor bound to take an active part in political life."

"In public life we need not only men who are able to work in and through their parties, but also upright, fearless, rational independents, who will deal impartial justice to all men and all parties."

"When a partisan political organization becomes merely an association for purposes of plunder and patronage, it may be a menace instead of a help to a community."

"Cynicism in public life is a curse, and when a man has lost the power of enthusiasm for righteousness it will be better for him and the country if he abandons public life."

"But the best way to prevent big corporations from making contributions for improper purposes is simply to elect as public servants not professional denouncers of corporations—for such men are in practice usually their most servile tools—but men who say, and mean, that they

will neither be for nor against corporations; that, on the one hand, they will not be frightened from doing them justice by popular clamor, or, on the other hand, led by any interest whatsoever into doing them more than justice."

Roosevelt as President is not different from Roosevelt the man, inflexible to the right, courageous, impartial, hewing to the line, broad-minded, able, magnanimous and resolute in his great purpose to ignore sections, and to be President of the whole country, to the end that we may be a thoroughly united people, in sentiment, affection, interest and purpose.

His Birth and Ancestry.—Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City at the family mansion, 28 East Twentieth street, October 27, 1858. He is a Knickerbocker of the Knickerbockers, being seventh in descent from Klaus Martenson Roosevelt, who with his wife, emigrated from the Netherlands to New Amsterdam, in 1649. For two and a half centuries the descendants of this couple have lived in New York—burghers and patroons,—always serving their city in some patriotic capacity. In revolutionary times New York chose a Roosevelt to act with Alexander Hamilton in the United States Constitutional Convention. Roosevelt street in New York was so named because it was a cow-lane in the original Roosevelt farm. Roosevelt Hospital was a gift of a recent member of the family. Mingled with the good old Dutch blood there are strains in the family of the best Scotch, Irish and French Huguenot. The President's father, Theodore Roosevelt a lawyer and judge, was one of the most prominent men in New York during the Civil War. He had great strength and nobility of character combined with a certain easy joyousness. To him more than to anyone else New York owes its system of newsboys' lodging houses. He was a power in the Young Men's Christian Association and one of the principal organizers of the Bureau of United Charities.

The Allotment Commission.—During the Civil War it was Roosevelt Sr., who established the famous "Allotment Commission," which

enabled soldiers in the field to allot and send to their families at home a certain portion of their month's pay. He held various positions of public trust, but such was his high sense of the duty of the citizen to the state that he never would accept any payment for his services. The President's mother was Miss Martha Bullock. She came from the old Southern family of Bullocks, which produced a famous Governor of Georgia, and the builder of the Confederate Privateer "Alabama." So in his veins runs Revolutionary and Confederate blood. Science tells us "we are the sum of our antecedents and surroundings." And in our hero President is easily traced the fighting strain that made him "court death like a lover," at San Juan Hill. As a boy he was small and frail, with weak eyes, giving little promise of the amazing vigor of his later life. His father who, it is said, understood the science of bringing up boys—and that science he comprised in the word *work*, hard work and plenty of it—early taught Theodore that if he would amount to anything in the world, he must cultivate physical strength. So he began early in life with that prodigious perseverance of his to build up a vigorous constitution by an outdoor life. As a boy he spent all of his summers at the Roosevelt farm, Oyster Bay, Long Island, where he swam, rowed, and tramped the hills for pastime, collecting and cataloging the birds of his neighborhood. "I was determined," he said, "to make a man of myself." And to a friend who spoke to him about being a city boy, he replied: "I belong as much to the country as to the city. I owe all my vigor to the country." He was tutored at home; but also attended a private school—Cutters, one of the most famous of its day. When eleven years old he made his first trip to Europe. Even at that age, says Mr. George Cromwell, of Philadelphia, "he was a leader. A masterful, commanding little fellow, who seemed to have a peculiar quality of his own for making his playmates obey him—not at all because we were afraid, but because we wanted to, and somehow felt sure we would have a good time and have lots of fun if we did as he said."

Roosevelt as a Boy.—The lad's principal amusements in the winter were skating and coasting in Central Park. His literary taste developed a fondness for the stories of Captain Mayne Reid and he manifested an intense liking for the Indian tales of Fenimore Cooper. After two years at a preparatory school he went to Harvard in 1875, and is the third president to graduate from that University. Ex-Mayor Josiah Quincy of Boston, who was in college with Roosevelt, says of him:

"He exhibited in his college days most of the traits of character which he has exhibited in after years on the larger stage of political life. In appearance and manner he has changed remarkably little in twenty years and I should say that his leading characteristic in college was the very quality of strenuousness, which is now so associated with his public character. In whatever he did he showed unusual energy and the same aggressive earnestness which has carried him so far in public life.

His College Life.—"Roosevelt at school exhibited a maturity of character, if not of intellectual development, greater than that of most of his classmates, and was looked upon as one of the notable members of his class." Both his fellows and his teachers say he was much above the average as a student. He was just as original, just as reliant on his own judgment, as now. On the subject of athletics I will use his own words: "By the time I entered Harvard College I was able to take my part in whatever sports I liked. I wrestled and sparred and ran a great deal while at college, and although I never came in first, I got more good out of the exercise than those who did, because I immensely enjoyed it and never injured myself. I was fond of wrestling and boxing; I think I was a good deal of a wrestler, and though I never won a championship, yet more than once I won my trial heats and got into the final round. I was captain of my polo team at one time, but since I left college I have taken most of my exercise in the 'cow-country' or in the mountains hunting."

He was for a time editor of the *Advocate,* the college paper, and was deeply absorbed in history and natural history; in the latter study he took honors. Although well born and a welcome guest in the society of exclusive Boston he was absolutely free from snobbishness, as is illustrated by the following anecdote:

"Roosevelt," said a classmate to him one day, "why do you associate with so and so?"

"Well," was the reply, "he is a good boxer, a good wrestler and chain lightning in mathematics."

"But he is below you in social position," was urged. "His father is a carpenter, or something of that sort."

Young Roosevelt was on fire in a moment.

"You're a cad!" he retorted, "nobody but a cad would make such a suggestion. That man is your superior in three lines of study; he can outrow you and outjump you, so if there is any question of superiority or inferiority, you are distinctly the inferior."

Upon leaving college one of the professors in speaking of him said: "Take the measure of your country by Roosevelt's success in politics." And the country has, to its honor be it said, not been found wanting in appreciation of his honesty, patriotism and high ideals.

Climbing the Peaks of Switzerland.—After leaving college young Roosevelt spent a year in Europe, where he climbed the Matterhorn and the Jungfrau, and was made a member of the London Alpine Club. Upon his return to New York, barely twenty-three, he was ready to begin his lifework. He is described at that time as a "robust, sturdy shouldered, square jawed young man, five feet eight in height—born a fighter."

An admirer writing of him in *McClure's Magazine* says:

"He had no need to work, his income was ample to keep him in comfort, if not luxury, all his life. He might spend his summers in Newport and his winters on the Continent, and possibly win some fame as an amateur athlete and a society man, but rather than take the ease

of a rich and purposeless man he craved the stir and action of public life, where he might be of real service to his country."

His Career as an Author.—Before he was twenty-three Roosevelt had completed his work on the "Naval War of 1812," which has since become a standard authority upon that eventful period of the nation's history, and a copy was placed, by authority, in the library of every American warship. It was characteristic of him that in his earliest literary effort he should take up the challenge of a British writer who had slandered American character and purpose. The book which excited him to anger was an elaborate history of the British Navy by James, in five volumes, which was accepted as a standard by Great Britain. To disprove the infamous charges James had preferred, Roosevelt went to Washington and plodded carefully through all the old, mildewed annals of the navy, which had been stored away in boxes where no one had touched them for two generations. He read therein accounts of battles as reported to the Navy Department by the captains themselves; he also investigated all the official reports of them made in Europe. The result was a detailed, technical account of each naval engagement just as it had been fought, and with this reliable information acquired he used it to produce a work most valuable to real students of this period of our history. And it is a significant fact that the publishers of a new and great naval history of Great Britain, on a scale more elaborate than has ever been attempted before, have asked Mr. Roosevelt to write for it the account of the contest between Great Britain and the United States on the sea in 1812.

XXXI.

ROOSEVELT'S ENTRY INTO POLITICS.

For a time Mr. Roosevelt attempted the study of law with his uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt; but politics attracted him irresistibly, for he then believed, as he subsequently declared: "Politics and war are the two biggest games that men can play at."

In 1881 he attended his first primary. "I have always believed," he said, "that every man should join a political organization, and should attend the primaries; that he should not be content to be merely governed, but should do his part of that work."

He was elected a member of the New York Assembly in 1881, the youngest member of that body, and was twice re-elected by large majorities. Modestly but unceasingly he made war on corrupt politics. "By many he was considered an assertive, well-meaning young man with correct ideas, absurd in practical politics—a sort of visiting delegate from the Y. M. C. A. trying to run the Albany Legislature, with its Thurlow Weed traditions, on a Sunday-school basis."

He soon proved himself, however, a knock-down fighter, and, protected by his armor of fearless honesty, a man to be reckoned with and feared. He became Republican candidate for Speaker in his second Assembly year, and in the following year he was made chairman of the Committee on Cities. Then began the fight for reform, preparing the way for the upheaval that came with the Lexow-Parkhurst-Goff investigation.

How He Fought Corruption in the State.—Indeed, at Albany he played politics with the same cheery disregard for punishment, danger or future preferment that he showed on the bloody slope before San Juan. He had determined that the city government of New York needed purifying, and without delay he set about to purify it. It was

nothing to him that he had a bitter majority of corrupt politicians to fight, nor that many of the newspapers of New York lampooned him unmercifully. He made friends and trusted them, wherein lies much of his success as a leader; and with the small but tremendously energetic and devoted band of workers which gathered under his standard he succeeded in passing the famous Roosevelt Aldermanic bill, which deprived the City Council of New York of the right to veto the Mayor's appointments, the provision under which Tweed and his ringsters had wrought such perversions of the public will. This was the most important work he did in Albany, and, singularly enough, it made possible his own appointment years later as Police Commissioner.

He also organized a committee to investigate the work of county officials in New York, as a result of which the County Clerk, who had been receiving $82,000 a year in fees, the Sheriff, who had been taking $100,000, and the Register, whose perquisites were also very large, all became salaried officials. At the same time Mr. Roosevelt urged a police investigation, and it would have been secured had he remained longer in the Legislature. During his entire service he fought every blackmailing scheme of dishonest politicians with untiring earnestness, and he insisted on civil service reform, and the endeavor to combine honesty and efficiency in the selection of all servants of the State.

A Delegate to the Republican National Convention.—He first became prominent in national politics in 1884, when, recognized as a power in the State, he was made a delegate to the Republican National Convention, to lead the Edmunds forces in the Chicago convention of 1884; and though opposed to Blaine, he refused to follow the bolters who went over to Cleveland, for he believed he could do nothing except through the regular party organization.

He entered the campaign vigorously, made many speeches and then went West to his North Dakota ranch, where he spent two years hunting and writing. He killed big game at that time and wrote his

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THE WILCOX HOME IN WHICH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WAS SWORN IN.

books on "Ranch Life" and "The Winning of the West." Two years before, in 1884, occurred the great sorrow and tragedy of his life, when he lost his young wife, formerly Miss Alice Lee, of Boston, and his dearly beloved mother. They died in the same house, and within a few hours of each other. It was said that his self-control under the blow was marvelous, inspiring all with the deepest respect and admiration.

Life on the Frontier.—Of his life on the frontier, in Northwest Dakota, he says: "I went out there to be one of them, not to show them what a New Yorker looked like. I dressed as my cowmen dressed; I was armed as they were armed; I ate what they ate; if they slept on the ground, in the wet, I did the same, and if they had a dance and I was wanted I went. They expected me to be the other way, but because I was not I took them by surprise and won their confidence." The following story also explains how he won their admiration:

He Subdues a Desperado.—Out West, in Montana, at a big round-up, the "bad man," who always is present on such occasions, was known as "Long Ike." He had the reputation of being quick with his forefinger on the trigger and able to "whip his weight in wild cats," on account of his great muscular strength. He imposed upon people so long that he gradually got to believe in his own courage—for, in reality, he was as arrant a coward as ever passed himself off as a brave man. One of his favorite tricks was to line up alongside a drinking bar, select the filled glass of one of the men he thought he could bluff, and drain it. At this particular round-up Theodore Roosevelt happened to be one of a party in the only place of shelter on the prairie—the saloon. A glass half filled with whisky had been poured out by a cowboy and placed in front of him. Long Ike reached out and took it, and so certain was he that the stranger would submit that he did not take the precaution to make his customary bluff with his revolver.

Before he could swallow the liquor Mr. Roosevelt was on him like

a catamount. An expert wrestler, he threw the bully in a jiffy. Then he turned him over and stood him up and ran him out of doors, taking the revolver away from him in the run. Ike was thrown again, harder than before, and could not get up for five minutes. When he did he was dazed and wondering. The style of attack was so quick, so unusual and so vigorous that he was afraid to resent it in the "bad man" way even had he possessed the nerve—and his shooting-iron. He sneaked out of camp.

The young man with the eyeglasses and the gleaming teeth enjoyed the respect of the cowboys from that day forward.

We next find him a candidate for Mayor of New York City, "leading a forlorn hope" against Henry George, the United Labor nominee, and Abram S. Hewitt, Democratic candidate. Hewitt was elected, though Roosevelt made a strong fight.

A Civil Service Commissioner.—For six years, beginning in 1889, four years under President Harrison and two under President Cleveland, he was president of the Civil Service Commission. This was work quite to his liking—work for the correction of public abuses, where he met the keenest opposition, and in which he was compelled to grapple with every stripe of politician.

When he accepted the position he was firmly convinced that the spoils-monger was as bad as the bribe-giver, and he fought him publicly and privately, in Congress and out, so that before he left the commission he had added more than 20,000 new places to the scope of the Civil Service Law, at the same time enforcing the law as it never had been enforced before.

He resigned this position to become Police Commissioner in 1895 under Mayor Strong, who considered him the best material to give strength and vitality to the principles of reform, upon which he had been elected.

To a friend who expressed surprise that a man of his scholarly attainments should enter a police crusade, he said: "I thought the

storm centre was in New York, so I came here; it is a great piece of practical work. I like to take hold of work that has been done by a Tammany leader and do it as well by approaching it from the opposite direction. The thing that attracted me to it was that it was to be done in the hurly-burly, for I don't like cloister life."

Within a month he was the most hated as well as the best beloved man in New York. To be certain that his police orders were obeyed and that the reforms he recommended were carried out, he pursued the simple but effective method of visiting the patrolmen of the force on their beats at night, very much as the good Haroun al Rachid visited the citizens of Bagdad, to discover their occupations and their plottings. A very few such visits, with their resultant punishments upon delinquents, were enough to give the average policeman a wholesome regard for Mr. Roosevelt's authority and watchfulness. He established a policy of strict enforcement of the Excise Law, compelling saloons to close on Sundays, which aroused much opposition, but it put a stop to police protection of vice and restored discipline to the force.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy.—It was his appreciation of the great need of military readiness—whether to prevent war or to maintain it—that induced Roosevelt to accept the position of Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy in 1896. His first work was to familiarize himself with the possible needs of the navy in the event of war. After that he began to buy guns, ammunition and provisions. He insisted upon an appropriation of $800,000, with which to buy powder and balls for target practice; and afterwards $500,000 more for the same purpose. His experience among the big game of the West had convinced him of the necessity of good marksmanship, and he realized that to become an expert shot one must practice, and consequently waste powder and lead in firing big guns of battleships as well as rifles by infantry. When war with Spain threatened, he hurried the work on the new warships; he directed that the crew of every vessel be recruited to

its full complement, and crammed the bins of every naval supply station with coal in anticipation of an emergency. "If it had not been for Roosevelt," said Senator Cushman K. Davis, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, "we should not have been able to strike the blow that we did at Manila." It needed just Roosevelt's energy and promptness; he called it "sharpening the tools of the navy," and when they were sharpened and war was actually declared, he said, "There is nothing more for me to do. I have got to get into the fight myself."

Accordingly he sent in his resignation, but not until he had recommended Dewey to the command of the Asiatic Squadron, and upon request received permission to organize a regiment of Western Rough Riders, with rendezvous at San Antonio, Texas, of which Dr. Leonard Wood, an old college chum, was made colonel, and Roosevelt was quite content to take the office of lieutenant-colonel. This regiment was ready for the first expedition to Cuba, but there were delays, most vexatious, that kept it from moving to the front. Restless beyond control, Roosevelt telegraphed day by day to every prominent administration officer imploring that his regiment might be sent to Tampa, but these entreaties failing he sought an interview with Mrs. McKinley and begged her intercession with the President that an order be issued to have his regiment join the army of invasion. After the order he had so earnestly prayed for was finally given, the Washington authorities refused to allow mounted troops to go to Cuba, so that another mind-racking delay was encountered, and it seemed to Roosevelt that he had been purposely detained.

He Seizes a Train.—A second time he got orders to move, first to Tampa, and then to join General Joe Wheeler's Fifth Army Corps in the proposed invasion. His regiment was in camp ten miles from Tampa, to reach which port with expedition he boldly seized an entire train, and jumping on the engine himself he compelled the engineer to start. Everything was confuson when he reached Tampa, for the

army organization had been so hasty as to still show its great imperfections; finding that there was little likelihood of getting to Cuba soon should he wait for an assignment to a transport he promptly placed his regiment on board the nearest vessel. But he was not yet to have his restless spirit satisfied, for just before the time set for his sailing, a report came that Cervera with a fleet of powerful cruisers had been sighted in American waters, and to start out a fleet of transports under such dangerous conditions was a responsibility the government refused to take.

In the Thick of Action at Last.—In a few days the alarming reports of the enemy's proximity were disproved, and Roosevelt with his regiment was transferred to another transport, which with the fleet, convoyed by warships, set sail with General Shafter's army of 20,000 troops for Santiago. It happened, through his energy and resolution, that Roosevelt's regiment was the very first to land in Cuba, for, following the same tactics of boldness and self-initiation, he got his men ashore without waiting detailed orders.

On the first night of the landing Roosevelt began the march to the front. He passed General Lawton, who, under orders from General Shafter, was holding the advance guard position of the American army.

It is said that Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt passed the extreme outpost without orders and began the Las Guasimas fight at daylight of the next morning. When General Shafter received the news later in the day of the Rough Riders' encounter, which was of a sensational character, he was not pleased, for he had been told that they had been cut to peices. Shafter swore roundly at the Rough Riders and declared that he would "bring that damned cowboy regiment so far back in the rear" that it would never get another chance at the enemy during the whole campaign. Two hours afterward, however, he received further news and wrote a most flattering and complimentary note to Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt, congratulating him upon the brilliant success of his attack.

During the entire campaign, Colonel Roosevelt made every effort to get his regiment to the front, and on July 1, with the Rough Riders moving in columns of twos through a densely forested roadway leading to the "Bloody Angle," on San Juan Hill, and while his men were falling wounded around him, with shells bursting almost at their feet, the gallant Roosevelt answered the salutation of a war correspondent's "Hello, there!" with a wave of his hand, shouting:

"Isn't it glorious to be here?"

His Magnanimity and Patriotism.—Where the battle raged fiercest Roosevelt was at his best. The greater the danger the deeper his joy. Whistling bullets were music. Bursting shells a part of war's anthem in his ears. The more desperate the charge, the more his patriotism flamed into action. Like Sheridan at Five Forks he courted death like a lover.

When soldiers wrote home of his brave deeds there was always a "P. S." telling how he gave his bed to sick soldiers; how he bought food for the boys when rations were low; how he cut the red tape holding up train loads of provisions; how he nursed his men like a brother, took their dying messages and said the last good-bye—these and the thousand other deeds known only to God and the angels were written about, scratched on bits of powder-stained paper and sent home to be read and reread all over the land, in Western camps and city palaces. Tears fell by a thousand firesides. The humblest backwoods ranchman, the most desolate mother whose dead boy rested under the willows, knew that they all had a great and powerful friend near to the government, who was a friend indeed, their friend, and he would never forget them. He had nursed their wounded heroes and had written words of sympathy which they framed between Lincoln and Washington.

Every one, from the half-breed child of the Rio Grande to governors of States, knows all about the man who in sorrow and busy loneliness now bears the nation's burden at the White House.

It is true that he is a man of many ideas, but always a man of the people. In every position he has made friends from the start. It may be truly said of him, as of Washington,

> **First in war, first in peace,**
> **First in the hearts of his countrymen.**

What President was ever so personally near to so many classes of people? On the plains he was one of the cowboys around him. In mountains he held his own with the best of native hunters of big game. In battle he rode ahead of the line.

Generous Comradeship with His Men.—After the war was over and he had returned, to be honored by the country, wined and dined in the mansions of the rich, he still remembered the boys of the regiment. When they came to New York and painted the town red, spent their savings, and found themselves adrift without friends or money, Roosevelt opened his big house to them at Oyster Bay, entertained them, put on the old uniform, told them stories, and sent them home with their fares paid, and a bit of "chink" in their pockets.

But the great day of a lifetime was when these cowboys of the plains saw their friend return to them on special trains, with senators, generals and statesmen, he the biggest of them, yet the same friend as of old.

And he tarried with them, told them new stories, rode their deadliest high-kicking bronchos, wrestled with them as he had years before up in the "cow country," but was always a gentleman, and able to hold his own with professors, " broncho busters" or governors on all subjects and specialties. He never forgot the women folks, some still wearing black for their dead, nor the half-naked children tumbling over the adobe floors of the ranch headquarters.

And now we see this man of the people bearing with dignity the honors of the White House. The science of government has been the study of his life. Well equipped, having wide experience in the

administration of affairs as governor, in the navy office, and as leader of troops, he will have a chance to let the people admire the other qualities in him that have been long waiting for a call to executive action.

What must be the thoughts of this masterful man of lofty aims and noble ambition in such an hour as this! His books are many, and in them are recorded his best thoughts on public policy, legislation, and ideal government.

When young Roosevelt left Harvard, radiant with university honors, and made a pilgrimage over Europe on foot, swimming rivers and climbing mountains, his final achievement was scaling the Matterhorn, its mighty dome overlooking half of Europe.

To-day he stands on a still greater eminence, and he has the support of country and government. There is no reason for anxiety. It is believed that now, as in the past, Mr. Roosevelt will prove himself a wise and triumphant leader, that he will administer the laws with moderation and force, and bring new prosperity and glory to the nation.

In this faith the people will uphold him to a man.

XXXII.

ROOSEVELT SUCCEEDS TO THE PRESIDENCY.

A chivalrous gentleman, a patriot, loyal and wholly undefiled, ambitious, but devoid of jealousy, it may be said with truth, no citizen, whether of high or of low degree more sincerely lamented, more deeply grieved, or was more profoundly shocked by the awful crime that removed from life his beloved and distinguished predecessor, than Theodore Roosevelt. It is not often, in these days of political strife and intense aspiration for place that the outworn injunction, "let the office seek the man," is permitted to obtain. But it is an indisputable truth that Roosevelt had no desire to be Vice-President; indeed, he shrank from the tender that was made by the Republican managers, and stoutly resisted their importunities until refusal to accept the proffered nomination threatened to place him in a position of antagonism to his party. He yielded at length purely to patriotic duty, as he conceived it, but when he became the nominee, with characteristic enthusiasm he threw himself into the campaign, and led the fight with an energy never equaled except by Bryan, whose speech-making powers were the wonder of the world.

Roosevelt's Sorrow Over the Tragedy.—When the news of the assault on President McKinley reached him Roosevelt was on a vacation expedition, which he immediately abandoned and rushed to the side of the stricken chieftain, to aid, to console, or to do whatever the necessities of the hour might require. When favorable bulletins of the surgeons and doctors told that the wounded President would live, no one was more joyous, or hailed the glad tidings with higher satisfaction than Roosevelt. Optimistic by nature, and with the best of reasons for believing that McKinley would recover, and wishing to relieve the stricken President from any embarrassment which his continued pres-

ence by the bedside might give, as indicating an anticipation of a fatal termination, Roosevelt returned to the Adirondacks and resumed the hunting sports which the tragedy had interrupted.

How He Received the Fatal Tidings.—The sudden change in President McKinley's condition was reported to Roosevelt by courier, who found him far from a railroad, in the heart of the mountains. On the instant the sorrowful news was imparted he waited not a moment to start upon a flying journey back to Buffalo. It mattered not to him that it was midnight, and very dark when the message came, or that the way led through the dense forest, and was almost impassable by reason of heavy rains now steadily falling. Jumping into a small road-wagon, little serviceable for such a dashing ride, he urged the driver to push on with all possible dispach, through thick darkness, over dangerous obstructions, and when the driver showed fear of disaster, Roosevelt plied the whip himself and continued the mad dash reckless of results, until by a wonderful fortune he was brought to the nearest railroad station, thirty-five miles from the place in the camp in the woods where he had taken the vehicle, and there learned that the President was dead.

Waiting trains, special trains, flying engines, carried him with the utmost speed towards Buffalo, where he arrived Saturday noon, nine hours after the final act of the awful tragedy.

Roosevelt Takes the Oath of Office.—Reaching Buffalo, Roosevelt drove quickly to the Milburn residence to pay respect to the dead President, for whom he grieved with a sincerity none may ever doubt. At half-past three o'clock p. m., in the house of Ansley Wilcox, 641 Delaware avenue, the oath of office of President of the United States was administered by Judge Herzel to Roosevelt, who after being thus elevated to the highest position that man can hold, with dignified solemnity made the following memorable utterance, in the presence of all the members of the Cabinet and many other prominent persons:

"In this hour of deep and national bereavement I wish to state

that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace and prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

A higher tribute it was not possible to pay the illustrious dead; a more exalted appreciation of his virtues as a man, and his ability as a statesman could not have been framed in speech, or manifested in action. But as if to confirm his declaration by further exhibition of his intentions to pursue the path marked out by McKinley, President Roosevelt requested all the members of the Cabinet, and also the faithful secretary of the dead President, to remain in office to the end of their terms.

Fear of a Panic Averted.—That Roosevelt is a conservative man, when it is the part of wisdom to be so, was proved by his prompt seizure of this ripe occasion to declare what his policy would be. And that the people, the mighty rich, as well as the loyal masses, gave him their perfect confidence, was strikingly attested by the fact that a commercial shock was averted, and that the business interests of the country continued unimpaired. In all other great national tragedies of which history gives any account one marked feature has been loss of public confidence through fear of a change of policy; stocks have heretofore taken a great fall; the money market has become constricted; business enterprise has halted, a dreadful unrest has prevailed. But notwithstanding McKinley's administration had brought the country to a condition of unexampled prosperity, and that commercial expansion and speculative investment had reached a point never before known, when it might be supposed that capital would be most sensitive to such a national calamity, stocks actually advanced on the Monday following the President's death, and business has shown no disturbance since. The sorrowing nation took on its burden of great loss, lamenting the death of a statesman whose name will ever shine with special brilliancy in the galaxy of the world's most illustrious, but with perfect faith in the capacity, no less than in the integrity, of his

successor, all Americans hailed him with an abiding confidence and high expectation, firm in the conviction that the era of prosperity established by McKinley will be prolonged, and the progress of the nation be continued by the wise administration of Roosevelt.

The Domestic Life of Roosevelt.—President Roosevelt has been twice married, his first wife, Miss Alice Lee, of Boston, dying in 1884, three years after their marriage, leaving to him an infant daughter, Alice, who is now eighteen years of age and the belle of the White House. In 1886 President Roosevelt married, in London, Miss Edith Kermit Carrow, of New York, whom he had known from childhood, and who is a woman of decided intellectuality and great amiability. She was a society girl, the family being a prominent one, but never one of the frivolous kind most commonly to be met with in our large cities. On the contrary she had literary ambitions, and being well educated she entered the literary circle of New York, and has written three books of pronounced merit. By his present wife President Roosevelt is the father of five children, viz: Theodore, aged 13; Kermit, 11; Ethel, 9; Archibald, 6; Quentin, 2.

Fireside Affection.—The home life of the President is an exemplary one, in which respect there is marked similarity to that of the McKinley family, where the domestic ties were ever paramount. Mrs. Roosevelt will do honor to the high position to which she has been called, having the accomplishments and the graces of culture, benevolence, amiability, and an appreciation of high ideals, which make for better womanhood and intellectual advancement. She has traveled extensively, read the best authors, is tactful and a fine conversationalist, though somewhat retiring in her manner. Above all else Mrs. Roosevelt is a devoted wife and mother, one who believes in and adores her distinguished husband, and who finds no place so congenial to her tastes, so perfectly happy as her own fireside. And it must be added President Roosevelt appreciates her noble qualities, and esteems her judgment as he does her beautiful character. This shown by an interest-

ing incident on June 22, 1900, when, during a caucus of the New York delegation, he refused positively to yield to the Platt proposition that he be given the nomination for Vice-President until he could have a private talk with his wife. A carriage was sent for and he sought Mrs. Roosevelt at their hotel. Firmly she counseled him against an acceptance, and he deferred to her absolutely, but nothing he could say, neither reason, nor declaration not to accept a nomination could stay the tide of convention decision, and receiving a unanimous nomination, his own voice being alone in opposition, acceptance became a necessity. President Roosevelt and his wife are both members of the Reformed Dutch Church and carry the Christian virtues into their everyday life.

Ladies of the White House.—Mrs. Roosevelt is the thirty-first lady of the White House, the full list and the order in which they appeared being as follows:

Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Dolly Madison, Elizabeth Monroe, Louise Adams, Rachel Jackson, Emily Donelson, Sarah York Jackson, Angelica Van Buren, Anna Harrison, Letitia Tyler, Mrs. Robert Tyler, Letitia Semple, Sarah Polk, Margaret Taylor, Abigail Fillmore, Jane Pierce, Harriet Lane, Mary Todd Lincoln, Eliza Johnson, Martha Patterson, Julia Dent Grant, Lucy Webb Hayes, Lucretia Garfield, Mary Arthur McElroy, Rose Cleveland, Frances Folsom Cleveland, Caroline Harrison, Mary Harrison McKee, Ida Saxton McKinley, Edith Kermit Roosevelt.

ROOSEVELT THE MAN AND THE EXECUTIVE.

Had he been consulted, no question Roosevelt would have chosen size and strength rather than riches. The latter being his portion, he had the rare fortune to receive in addition a marvelously active mind and an ambition to make the very utmost of which his physical being

was capable under systematic development. Small of stature, weak of body, unpromising in appearance, his was a handicap completely discouraging to one not endowed with wondrous mentality reinforced by strong vitality. Notwithstanding his marked physical deficiencies he strove mightily to be swiftest of foot, greatest in endurance, bravest of his class, and quickest in his studies, a mighty power, so to speak, in a small compass. This smart disposition and agile movement, for which he was remarkable in boyhood, increased with his growth, until in manhood Roosevelt's energy and courage became so great that he was known among his associates as "the human Gatling gun," so rapid is he in all his acts, speech and decisions.

Impulsiveness Prompted by Intuition.—It frequently happens that promptness of action, readiness of opinion, quickness of speech are characteristic of the inconsiderate, the unreliable and the unwise; but examples are not few where celerity of conclusion and action are evidences of a superior mind. Indeed, instances are many where almost instantaneous decision has not only averted calamity but has powerfully promoted the welfare of nations. Napoleon was noted for the swiftness with which he comprehended questions and the impetuosity of his executions. And while the contrary trait distinguished many great rulers, the number is not few who achieved their reputations for wise statesmanship by the rapidity with which they seized and disposed of exigent questions, while it may be said, the best general is one who has a mind for intuitively judging, and a heart that prompts to take quick action, by which advantage is often taken of the enemy.

In some respects the character of Roosevelt resembles that of Andrew Jackson, especially so in his leonine courage, and his set resolution to execute an undertaking once entered upon. And we cannot fail to be much impressed by the fact, so amply illustrated by the lives of rulers, that the sturdily honest, the most thoroughly impartial and humane, and the wisest for public good, have been those wielding mighty power who were distinguished for their personal courage and

their trust in the people, while tyrants and corrupt rulers have ever been men wholly lacking in bravery, and who have shrunk with trembling cowardice when a fear of bodily harm threatened them.

The Elements That Make Him Truly Great.—President Roosevelt has proved his mental quite as well as his physical ability, not only by his pen, which clearly expounds his sound philosophy, and exhibits his power of originality and analysis, but by his acts as an executive, in the several important offices he has so ably filled. As police commissioner grappling with corruption in New York City, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy at a time when that office required a man of the most conspicuous ability, for war had been declared, and as Governor of New York, where he distinguished himself by branding fraud, and putting his foot upon the neck of bribery, and by driving out the money changers from the temple of state legislation. In all these places of public trust he was efficient, and proved himself an uncompromising foe to every species of dishonesty. Nor are there any discredit marks upon the record of his career as official or citizen; he has been a statesman of integrity, and one of wisdom as well; he is a champion of political reform, an enemy to blind partisanship, a patriot at all times, and a fighter in the front ranks when his country is menaced by war.

The greatness of McKinley, for whose untimely death America will never cease to lament, was in many things; he was a wise ruler, a lofty minded statesman, a thorough American; he was more than this: he was a good, a noble, an honest man, whose domestic virtues will never cease to shine with glorious lustre in the coronet of exemplary traits with which his countrymen have invested his memory for all time. But the virtue, as it is, of devotion to wife, the love so beautiful, so heart-touching, so elevating with benign influence, which was conspicuous in the home life of McKinley, has its counterpart in the domesticity of Roosevelt. In him we see the blended elements of soldier courage and the tender sentiment of perfect loyalty to the

woman who ennobles his career with reciprocated affection. The world is bettered by such men, even when they walk in humble ways, and when such occupy high places in public trust they become exemplars for the people, and diffuse an influence that is infinite for the national good. Bigotry, sectionalism, partisanship, in the sense of party passion, oppression, is impossible to a man of these lofty ideals and sincere purposes.

ROOSEVELT AS A SOLDIER.

The military title of "Colonel" belongs of right to Roosevelt, as that of "Major" belonged to McKinley, both having won their promotion by distinguished service on the battlefield. Roosevelt was too young to take part in the Civil War, and it is fortunate, too, for reconciliation between what were once estranged sections is more firmly perfected by the fact that Southern and Northern blood flows in equal proportions in his veins; that he belongs, by virtue of birth, to South and North alike.

It was the fortune of Roosevelt to be heir to wealth, but it was his greater fortune to be born without taint of the boast of privilege, or the vainglory that is the bane of riches. In him has ever been an ambition to serve his fellowmen, not as an oppressor, but as a promoter of the public good, socially and politically. Born to ease, he eschewed it for the life strenuous, the life helpful, the life exemplary.

The badge of leadership is as often worn upon the brow of men as is the stamp of genius; it shows itself in the child, it is emphasized in manhood. Never was it more pronounced than in the career of Roosevelt, from boyhood to the Presidency, for, like the spirit of prophecy of old, it was manifested in his childhood.

His Enlistment in the Army.—It was a comfortable, important, and promising office that he held under appointment of President

McKinley, next indeed to that of a Cabinet position, but its honors, emoluments, and his prospects for advancement he promptly resigned when the bugle blast sounded, summoning a volunteer host to do battle in the cause of human liberty. His mind operating with the flash of an impulse he quitted the high office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and tendered his services to his country in the war with Spain. A more conspicuous example of patriotic abnegation it is difficult to find in the annals of history.

He Organizes a Regiment of Rough Riders.—With indomitable energy he set about the work of raising a regiment, and he made selection from the bold spirits of the plains the cowboys, the rough riders whom he learned to know so well, their daring, their execution, their composure in places of peril, by association with them on the broad reaches of the wild West. A thousand fearless men flocked to his banner, not only coming from ranches of the Rocky Mountain region, in leather and sombrero, men of the lariat and the bull whip, but men also from New York's exclusive society, young apprentices of war, out of the ranks of the militia, whose valor and patriotism was proved, on the test to be above the dilettanteism of the idle, the ennuied, the highly decorated and sensational rich.

The Fierce Charge up San Juan Hill.—When his regiment was fully recruited he tendered its services to the government, which, being accepted, Dr. Leonard Wood, of the regular army, was made colonel, and Roosevelt was perfectly content to accept the lesser office of lieutenant-colonel. With all the persuasive influence it was possible for him to exercise he urged that his regiment be ordered to the front, and it was by this demand for service that the Rough Riders were sent to Santiago to bear the brunt of hardest fighting in the siege of that well-defended city. It was intended that the Rough Riders should be mounted, but there was no time allowed to buy and ship horses, so these fearless soldiers, with the most intrepid of commanders leading, pushed ahead and made the famous charge up San Juan Hill,

and at Las Guasimas, with Roosevelt always in the advance. Americans have not forgotten, nor will history neglect to record, the heroic assault on the Spanish stronghold as conducted by Wood and Roosevelt. Chaparral, barbed wire, and a hail of shot and shell could not check the resistless sweep of the Rough Riders; many of these wondrously brave fellows fell before the galling, down-pouring volleys of the greatly advantaged enemy, but Roosevelt escaped, and with sword in air, waving and inciting, he led the phalanx until it drove the enemies from their intrenchments and won the day, with a hurrah the clamor and echo of which will never expire or cease to be a mighty stimulation to American soldiers.

Promotion and Subsequent Service.—For superb gallantry in the fiercest battle of the war, Wood was made brigadier-general, and Roosevelt was promoted to be colonel. Besides this honorable mark bestowed by the President, Roosevelt was specially complimented not only for his heroism, but also for the excellent care and generous consideration he showed for his men, whom he hailed as comrades.

His Devotion to His Men.—With the surrender of Santiago, and conclusion of the war, a great problem was presented in the necessity for a speedy removal of American troops in Cuba, among which yellow fever had appeared and death came to the brave fellows in more horrid form than that of battlefield. Unable to brook any appearance of inactivity, and suffering with his stricken fellows, Roosevelt joined in the preparation of a "round robin" by the officers demanding that all except immune regiments be conveyed without delay to some healthy place in the United States, pending disbandment of the army. This action precipitated a heated controversy with Secretary of War Alger, but red-tape army methods did not prevent the removal of Roosevelt's regiment to Montauk Point, New York, where he was indefatigable in his efforts to provide comforts greater than the government was able to promptly supply.

The magnificent kindliness of Roosevelt, his splendid, untiring

devotion to his comrades in arms, made him the idol not only of his own troops, but of the army and of the people as well, and his popularity so worthily achieved has lost none of its earnestness since, nor is it likely that the glory of his deeds will lose any of its lustre in all the years that shall know the great Republic of the United States.

A HISTORY

OF THE

GREAT QUESTIONS AND MIGHTY ISSUES

Which now confront the nation and press for wise consideration, patient investigation, and effective solution

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Such Problems as those involved in Maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, Repression of the Trusts, Construction of an Isthmian Canal, Pacification of the Filipinos, Our Colonial Policies, Commercial Expansion, Reciprocity of Trade, Labor Organizations, Internal Improvements, Strikes and Lockouts, etc.

AND A FORCIBLE, GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES, TEACHINGS, PROPAGANDISM, DEMANDS AND AWFUL TRAGEDIES OF ANARCHISM

ANARCHY

AND OTHER MOMENTOUS PROBLEMS

ANARCHY.

Banner of the Red Terror.

Social conditions have, since the institution of government, been a subject of continuous discussion; nor may we ever hope to see a satisfactory determination of the questions in dispute. The world savage, and the world civilized has been in the control of mobocracy; absence of authority, save that seized by hands having the temporary strength to wield it, conducted the French Revolution, and led on to the horrifying spectacle of a deluge of human blood, to which innocence contributed as much as the guilty. The causes that precipitated this frightful carnival of murder may, and no doubt were, all they have been represented, but even so, it must be admitted by all serious-minded persons that the evils complained of so bitterly, righteously, might have been corrected by healthy public sentiment forcing execution of laws, or by demonstrations which lacked the fearsome attendants of indiscriminate slaughter. History is not silent when we ask to be shown the effects of anarchy; for the suspension of government, the deposition of all delegated authority, and the rule of might has had many experiments, and in every instance the result has been robbery, rapine, ruthless murder, until the majority has begged of mercy to restore the rule of law. The savage is not so completely bred out of human nature, even in Europe or America, that we may trust wholly to the saving grace of what is called our higher intelligence. Crime everywhere exists, which at best can only be restricted by enforcement of punitive laws. If, therefore, crime taxes our courts despite the punishments visited, what must inevitably be the condition of society when all law is abrogated and the license of indiscriminate personal might prevails? Such a condition would in effect be an enforcement of the Malthusian doctrine for preventing the further increase of the

race. More than this, it would ultimate in the destruction of the race, or in return to the primal condition of family isolation.

What is Anarchy?—Anarchy has been defined as a struggle to secure an abolition of all government, and an abrogation of all law. The contention of those who call themselves anarchists, or nihilists, is that the laws bear unequally on rich and poor, and that discrimination in the enforcement leads to wrongs, oppressions, greater than would follow from their total abolition. They maintain, also, that elevation of a man to the supreme dignity of ruler over his fellows makes him a tyrant, because his position is such that he cannot understand the needs of his subjects, and his demands are immeasurably increased by the exaggerated sense of his own overweening importance and sensuality.

The Hegelian theory is that everything which is legalized inevitably creates that thing which is its opposite, a principle which Proudhon thus formulated: "Every true thought is conceived in time once, and breaks up in two directions. As each of these directions is the negation of the other, and both can only disappear in a higher idea, it follows that the negation of law is itself the law of life and progress, and the principle of continuous movement." This was written as early as 1848, when, it may be said, no disciple of Hegel, or of the theory of anarchy, counseled violence; when belief in the doctrine was serious, but when those who maintained it were non-resistants, as Tolstoi is now.

Schools of Anarchy.—It must not be believed that all confessed anarchists are advocates of violent means to overthrow the institution of government, or who believe in defying all human law.

There are, indeed, several schools of anarchy, some of which contend for the principle by propagandism; others, by co-operation with socialists and agrarians, acting in a politic capacity, although socialism is in fact the direct opposite of anarchy, for that school believes in common ownership and common effort, while anarchists urge that all distinction, all law, all restraints, be destroyed and property become the prey of those strong enough to take it.

Contention of Socialists.—Socialists are not antagonistic, in their principles, to government; on the contrary, they are advocates of government ownership of public utilities, as well also of all property, in order that the fruits of industry of every kind may be enjoyed in common. Their theories have been put in execution in many instances —such as in France, 1848, which met with distinct failure; while in some cases—as in government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, notably in Germany—they have been signally successful. This success accounts for the wide diffusion of socialistic sentiment in that country. But, notwithstanding this success in the experiment of government ownership of railroads in Europe, and of the successful management of postal communication, we have to offset the good effect thus obtained by the failure that has attended municipal ownership, particularly in the United States, and may form an accurate judgment of what results might follow absorption by government of all personal and landed property, for what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and where individual activities are no longer stimulated by promise of personal gain, a nation of paupers is certain to develop.

Even though anarchy and socialism have little in common beyond a desire for change in the order of things, adherents of the former do not despair of forming a coalition for the augmentation of influence against authority as now constituted. If either should obtain, through one (socialism) we might be expected to be pauperized because of our inaction, and through the other (anarchy) we would be harrowed without mercy by the despotism of our reverted savage natures.

Differences Between Socialism and Anarchism.—The word "Socialist" may be defined as a term signifying a person who holds to the belief that society, the body politic, as it now exists is unjust through the influence of individual ambition, and that this injustice can be eliminated in no other way than through human intelligence applying constructively the principles of common effort, common production, and common ownership. In many respects "Socialism"

and "Communism" are interchangeable terms, with the distinction that the former refers chiefly to society, essentially, and the latter to commercialism.

A State-Socialist maintains that perfect society can exist only where the wisest and most impartial laws are honestly administered. This statement is axiomatic, a fact self-evident, but its application by State-Socialists is in their demand for laws that give no special privileges; that bear equally upon all classes, but with a special view to helping labor and preventing poverty, since prosperity of the masses must rest upon contentment of producers.

An Anarchist-Socialist, strange combination, holds to the doctrine that the vital essential of society is absolute liberty, even license, which should be allowed the individual in controlling his own affairs, regardless of effects on others.

A Free-Socialist is an Anarchist, in a general sense, but specially maintains that society, as it obtains, through the enforcement of law, is in opposition to the principle of voluntary co-operation, and hence in antagonism to individualism and human harmony.

A Beautiful Picture.—Ideal Socialism is thus defined by Lloyd, a distinguished disciple and exponent: "A state of society in the inoffensive man is as free as Robinson Crusoe, yet in a world of brothers if he will; in which crime is discouraged in spirit and restrained in fact; in which helplessness is supported, weakness defended, and loss made good, without degradation or condescension; in which industry has complete opportunity and retains its full product, and only laziness gets nothing; in which the spirit of equal human liberty, and the love of it, is the one law, the guiding principle, the centre of growth, the supreme and uniting thought, the true faith and enthusiasm of all."

A picture may be painted that flatters nature; the softest colors of springtime, the warmest tints of summer, the golden glories of fall, or the ashen bleakness of winter are rarely so picturesque in

nature as they are on the canvas of the painter; so it is the idealist sees conditions through his sub-consciousness and is blind to things as they really are. Every one would be glad if society could attain to so perfect a state as the ideal Socialist dreams of, but there are reasons impregnable, established as they are by human nature itself, why it can never be so. The anarchist, being wholly unpoetic, a rank materialist who writes his autograph with the torch, and has no patience to hear air-castle philosophy, sees the faults of society through telescopic imagination, and being of an impetuous nature he works himself into a state of anger that prompts him to enter upon a crusade of annihilation. He is as much a vandal, in his nature, as were the legions of Aleric, having respect for neither society nor for art, and regards license to prey, and to slay, if it suits his humor better, as the most exalted privilege that man can enjoy. Government signifies law, and the elevation of individuals; he therefore attacks the representatives of government, as he would extirpate the head of a snake as the quickest means of destroying its body which may lie concealed in a hole.

Why Anarchy Cannot Prevail.—There are reasons, unimpeachable, why the principles of anarchy, as well also socialism, cannot be established. That the principle of both is contrary to natural laws it is not difficult to prove; first, by the many examples of experiment, and second, by appeal to our own judgments. Time and again, in free America as well as in monarchical Europe, by governments and by voluntary communities, by religious associations and by secular colonies, has communal co-operation been sincerely attempted, and often under the most favorable conditions possible, and while a few have continued to exist for a considerable time, and some are even now still pursuing their purpose, not one has flourished, and their existence was from the second or third year of experiment a languishing one.

But the example of fact is not more instructive than the illustration of reason. If mankind could be divested of ambition, of pride,

of selfishness, and if a way could be found for equalizing human intelligences, so that every one would be on a common plane, intellectually, morally and physically, then it might be possible to establish and to maintain a perfect state of society by individualism, acting in voluntary co-operation for the general good.

A Popular Fallacy.—While communism is breasting the current of human nature, anarchy leaves the channel entirely and goes dashing through a crevasse, or spreads out in a disastrous overflow, so as to accomplish the largest amount of destruction. Great harm may be done, and has been done, by individual anarchists, for the life of the greatest potentate may be taken by the lowest specimen of mankind; but though Louis XIV. declared, "I am the state," nothing can be more false than the theory that the heart of any government is in the hereditary or elective head. At best a king or a president is only the temporary representative of the people; his death, whether natural or by violence, cannot affect the laws. A tyrant is one who defies law, who oppresses his subjects without authority to do so. The violent death of such a ruler may lead to reform of abuses, by a change not only of ruler, but of the form of government; but there are few pure monarchies now, all Europe, save Russia and Turkey, being governed by kings who are answerable to the people for their acts because of constitutional limitations.

The Uselessness of Assassination.—It must be perfectly apparent, when the conditions are carefully considered, that assassination of rulers, especially if they be the heads of constitutional governments, must fail to bring about a reign of anarchy. It is human nature to aspire, and this aspiration is so boundless that to gain distinction men will submit themselves to any peril, any suffering, if by so doing they may gain the applause of the world. There are thousands of men in every nation who are so ambitious that joyfully would they give their lives if by such sacrifice they could be king for a week. Why, therefore, should anarchy hope to extinguish the breed of kingly aspirants?

Indeed, assassination is an act so abhorrent to human nature that it emphasizes the need of law, so that instead of terrorizing a nation into abrogating law, or in a deposition of authority, deeds so monstrous intensify determination of the people to enact more stringent laws, and to strengthen the arm of their ruler. To enter upon a discussion of all the principles of anarchy in a book not wholly devoted to the subject would manifestedly be out of place, and especially so in a work like this; it is sufficient to say, the doctrine of anarchy is one subversive of law, that it contravenes every established order society has made or existed under, that it leads inevitably to the "survival of the fittest," or strongest.

Torture Does Not Change Men's Convictions.—If it were possible to suppose a condition where assassination might be justified as a punishment of tyranny, even in such case it is not a thing believable that the afflicted government may be benefited. For though an objectionable ruler be removed and his evil example atoned, the bane is still present, for there can be no violation of law without resultant evils. This is due to the fact that all such violations corrupt the people, by suggesting a license to do other unlawful things, and public, no less than personal security, becomes dangerously threatened. It is this result, however, that anarchism strives for, but it is the striving by murderous means that defeats the ends aimed at.

Force, violence, aye, every form of repressive measure and torture have ever failed to bring misgovernment to an end, to better in any wise the condition of society or to advance the cause of any movement. Let us look for a moment at two or three cases in point: During the reign of Bloody Mary did her fierce persecution of Protestants arrest the spread of that faith? And when her successor, Elizabeth, applied the same tormenting measures to suppress the Catholics, did she not fail as signally? History abounds with such examples to prove that religious intolerance never arrested the spread of any faith.

But men are as unyielding in their political opinions as they are

in their religious convictions. This is proved by many examples, but a recent illustration we have in the efforts Russia has made to stamp out nihilism, and the equally futile attempts made by nihilists to force the adoption of constitutional government. The most severe punishments inflicted by one has proved to be as useless for the purpose aimed at as have been the numerous assaults and assassinations of the other to accomplish their purpose.

Assassination Is Purposeless Vengeance.—It is a remarkable thing, which it were well anarchists themselves should consider, that in every case of assassination of rulers during the past twenty years, the victims have not been tyrants, but were persons distinguished not more for the position held than for their generous, magnanimous humanitarianism—rulers whose ambition lay not in oppressing, but in elevating, improving, bettering and making happier in every way their subjects. And if we will observe closely it has been the rulers who have been less beneficently disposed that have escaped attempts upon their lives.

Murder of Rulers.—Let us take a glance at the list of those stricken down by the assassin's blow:

Alexander II., of Russia, killed by a bomb March 13, 1881. He was the most benevolent and charitable ruler that country ever had, if we except the present Emperor. It was he who in 1859-61 manumitted 40,000,000 serfs, and thereby incurred the unquenchable hatred of the rich nobility.

President James A. Garfield, thoroughly beloved, shot July 2, 1881, not by an anarchist, but by a disappointed office-seeker.

President Sadi Carnot, of France, stabbed to death June 24, 1894. A man of rare amiability and generous impulses.

The Shah of Persia, mortally stabbed May 26, 1896. Though an autocrat by training, he was the first ruler of that country to visit Europe and make himself familiar with the Christian civilization, and who thereafter strove to introduce reforms by which his subjects might be greatly benefited.

General Borda, President of Uruguay, shot August 26, 1897, was best known for his sympathy with the lower classes, whose condition he tried strenuously to improve

Premier Canovas, of Spain, shot August 7, 1897, was the best loved man of that country, because of his kindnesses to the poor.

President Barrios, of Guatemala, shot February 9, 1898, was an ambitious man, charged with usurpation, but he was very far from being a tyrant, and those who knew him best regard him as having been one of the most charitable and just of rulers.

Empress Elizabeth, of Austria, fatally stabbed September 19, 1898. If we except Victoria, she was the most popular woman of a century; one in whom human kindness was a chief trait, and whose delight it was to bestów favors upon the unfortunate.

King Humbert, of Italy, shot July 2, 1900. It was under his rulership that the unification of Italy became complete and the nation a great power in Europe, while his subjects were given privileges never before granted them,

The Very Capsheaf of Crime.—Lastly, so fresh in our minds that the tears have not yet left our eyes, nor the nation's wound ceased to bleed, was the murder of the universally beloved McKinley, a man who was as guileless as he was great, a President who, like the immortal Lincoln, loved and trusted the people, who made the country a very hive of industry and gave to it unexampled prosperity. As a citizen and an executive his was a blameless life, against whom the hand of hate never raised itself, nor the lips of just complaint ever slandered. In his death human freedom received a mighty blow, and civilization stood still to take account of the awful loss as the world united in a wail of woe for its bereavement. Oh, anarchy, what crimes are done in thy name; what agony is inflicted by the deep damnation of thy causeless vengeance!

The Awe That a King Inspires.—In the list of assassinations above given, the crimes cannot all be imputed to anarchists, but the

wonder is that, notwithstanding their creed of blood-letting, of annihilation, any one of these awful deeds should have been committed by a representative of the doctrines of anarchy, for it would seem impossible that the instincts of humanity should ever be wholly eradicated by any teachings or belief from the heart of any man.

Observers will not fail to note that a majority of those assassinated were presidents of republics, a form of government which provides the largest liberty and makes every citizen a sovereign, full panoplied with the guarantees of life, liberty, pursuit of happiness and the right to worship according to the dictates of conscience. The question therefore arises, Why are presidents made the object of assault by anarchists more frequently than are kings, emperors, autocrats? There is a substantial reason, for which we have not far to search.

It has been said that "man is a creature of his environment," which is no doubt true, but he is certainly influenced quite as much by inherited tendencies. Superstition can never be wholly eliminated from human nature, and even those most inclined towards materialism are unconscious subjects of transmitted influences, of which supernaturalism is the hidden basis. Away back in the early centries of history the claim was set up and legalized that kings ruled by right of divine appointment. Such authority was derived from Biblical injunctions, by which men were designated to rule over the Jewish people. "The divinity that doth hedge a king" is an ingrafted principle, and may not be rooted out so long as kingdoms exist.

Some Very Striking Examples.—It is not merely to gratify a ruler's vanity that he surrounds himself by so many theatrical splendors, nor is it merely his sense of superiority that causes him to show himself to the people only when the pomp of circumstance best enables him to produce an awesome impression. The prime reason is to be found in the fact that, as familiarity breeds contempt, so does exclusiveness beget exaggerated admiration. History shows that, as a rule, a potentate's influence is in inverse proportion to the frequency

with which he exhibits himself to his subjects. And we cannot fail to be persuaded to believe this statement by the familiar illustration afforded by the church government at Rome, in which the doctrine of papal infallibility has been the very keystone sustaining the arch of the Catholic temple; as that faith grew less popular the influence of the Papacy diminished in the same degree. "No man appears great in the eyes of his valet," an observation confirmed by a thousand experiences, and the reverse of this fact may be as axiomatically asserted: "He who is least often seen is most sincerely reverenced," just as a man frequently gets a reputation for wisdom through his silence.

It is unquestionably true that people stand in awe of royalty—that there is still and always will be extant a degree of superstitious faith in the divinity of kings—and it is in this prevalent suggestion, if not belief, that monarchs have their greatest security. It is noticed also that while attempts on the lives of kings are comparatively frequent, few succeed. This failure we must attribute to the fear, not fully realized but certainly existing, which the would-be assassin feels that he is striking at one who wears the purple of authority by divine appointment; that the object of attack is a demi-god. Possessed of such a fear, even unconsciously, the criminal hesitates, his aim is uncertain, his passion of hate becomes mitigated by his dread of person and of a punishment not to be by human hands.

The Dangers That Follow Familiarity.—It is the custom of Presidents, confirmed by declarations and precedents, to mingle freely with the masses, as a showing of his disposition to serve them, and that he counts himself as in no wise their social superior. Politics compel him to exhibit this deference, for election depends largely upon the personal popularity of a candidate. In America, where the Constitution and the law recognize no social distinctions, and where the Executive, raised to his position by the people's suffrage, becomes a public servant, and holds his office for a time limited by public favor, even the President draws about him little of the awesome respect that

subjects have for their kings. The President mingles with the people, is accessible to any citizen, frequently becomes a public attraction, travels in ordinary trains, wears no glittering uniform, nor is he attended by an entourage of highly decorated officials, or a company of bedizened soldiers.

There is a studied absence of pompousness, and besides this show of common citizenship the President is made a target for the sharpest criticisms of political detractors. He goes into office with his character, however pure and lofty it may be in fact, smirched by the calumny of party spite, and to the end of his term he is the least respected and the most widely traduced person in the country. The cartoonist and the vituperative newsmonger vie in their efforts to vilify and hold him up to public contempt. Every policy, every speech, every recommendation the President may make meets with immediate censure and abusive criticism by party organs. Can we wonder, in the light of this understanding, why Presidents are assassinated? It matters not that our laws are more just, that liberty is largest, that thereby the widest fields of opportunity are opened and made free to any one who would use them, familiarity has destroyed respect, created jealousy, promoted hate, exaggerated conditions, and armed the hand of social and of political enmity.

How May We Protect Our Presidents?—The world has been trying for the six thousand years of recorded history to arrest the hand of murder. Every country since the dawn of civilization has made laws and adopted measures intended to protect persons generally, and rulers especially, from assassination. The Bible is our proof that in the ancient days king-murder was common, and the red hand of crime has been striking at high places ever since. The severest punishments have been inflicted upon assassins, torture and death, the dungeon, deportation, isolation on torrid isles, but these have failed, just as inquisitorial torments of the Middle Ages availed nothing in the effort to destroy men's religious convictions. Anarchy is the

disposition to murder, a reversion to savagery, a recurrence of the taint that afflicted the race in its primitive state, and it may therefore be likened to the fabled hydra of a hundred heads, one of which being cut off another immediately grew from the wound.

In these days of dynamite, repeating arms, and other powerful means of destruction which every one is free to use, protection of an individual from murderous assaults is impossible, as Garfield once declared, in reply to a warning that he should take precautions against assassination. But if protection of our national Executive is impractical, by either law or bodyguard, his security may be increased by promoting public respect for the office and the individual. How this may be done, without restricting free speech and curtailing the freedom of the press, is a problem no one has yet been able to solve. That it will be attempted there can be no doubt, but with deep regret it must be predicted that prosecution or deportation of anarchists will fail to suppress their activity, as similar measures have failed in other countries; and yet, punishments severe should be the penalty for all incitements to violent acts against the government, or its representatives, for such provokement is distinctly treasonable. Crime cannot be prevented by law, but swift enforcement of laws already on the statutes deters from commission, while a laxity of justice promotes anarchy just as it increases criminals of all classes.

OUR COLONIES.

How Acquired, and Policy of Government.

The territorial policy that long obtained in this country was founded upon the cry "America for Americans." This political slogan was first heard during what was known as the "Know Nothing Campaign," when there was manifested the greatest dislike of all foreigners. But "America for Americans" has since had a very much broader, humane and beneficent significance. It has not in many years implied any aversion for those who would make the United States their home, or for naturalized citizens who participate officially in the affairs of government. The meaning it now possesses is that no foreign power shall divide American territory; that our nation shall be supreme throughout every part of America.

The internal development of the country to which we have applied ourselves so industriously and efficiently, has necessitated, upon several occasions, the acquisition of contiguous territory, sometimes by conquest, but more frequently by peaceful means. The history of the growth of the United States is an extremely interesting one, and in view of the important questions growing out of our present colonial policy, it should be well learned by every American citizen.

Story of Our Annexations.—After the adoption of the Federal Constitution (1787) the different States ceded to the Union all the territories to the west of them. Some of these territories nominally extended to the Pacific coast, but practically the Mississippi River was the western boundary. Louisiana and Florida were then under Spanish rule, so that navigation of the Mississippi was restricted, to the great inconvenience of settlers west of the Alleghanies, for it had been the fixed policy of Spain to exclude foreign commerce from that stream. When, in 1780-82, John Jay made overtures to treat with

Spain on the subject of making the Mississippi free to all internal commerce, the king of that country haughtily and peremptorily refused to consider any proposal to this end. Desultory effort was continued by our government until clamorous demands of western settlers caused renewal of the attempt, and in 1795 Thomas Pinckney, Envoy Extraordinary to Spain, succeeded in negotiating a treaty of friendship and boundaries, by which free navigation of the Mississippi was opened to this country, and the port of New Orleans established.

The Retrocession of Louisiana.—In 1800 Spain retroceded Louisiana to France, to which the territory had belonged until the peace of 1763, whereupon France abrogated the navigation treaty of 1795, and a great ferment immediately followed. It was at first seriously proposed to order out 50,000 militia and to capture New Orleans, but hostilities were averted by the sending of James Monroe to co-operate with Robert R. Livingstone in an effort to purchase the territory of Louisiana from France. The negotiations were not immediately successful, and might have failed in the end but for the fact, fortunate for the United States, that France became involved in a war with Great Britain, for, believing he would be unable to retain the territory, and fearing that it might pass into the possession of England, Napoleon sold all of what was then the very extensive territory of Louisiana to the United States, for the sum of $15,000,000. This purchase treaty was signed April 30, 1803, by Monroe and Livingstone, on the part of the Union, and by Barbi-Mabois for France. By this purchase Jefferson, who was President at the time, acquired for the United States 1,171,931 square miles of territory, which comprised what is now Alabama and Mississippi south of parallel thirty degrees, all of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, west of the Mississippi, the two Dakotas, Montana, most of Kansas, and a large part of Colorado and Wyoming.

Jefferson Condemned by Federalists.—The Federalists angrily, vehemently, and with vituperation attacked Jefferson for his recom-

mendation of this act of purchase, declaring it to be utterly unconstitutional and subversive of the people's rights. Jefferson gave no heed to his traducers, but, being satisfied within himself of the vast public, national, benefit which must follow from this acquisition, proceeded at once with his design to add Florida to the Union. The United States claimed West Florida by virtue of the purchase treaty, but Spain denied that in her retrocession of Louisiana Territory to France she had included any part of Florida. In 1810 there was a popular uprising of the people of West Florida, who declared their independence, whereupon Governor Claiborne, of New Orleans, was sent by the President to take possession of Mobile and that part of Florida which was in revolt, which prompt action restored the territory to peaceful conditions; but a little later (1818) the Seminole Indians declared war, and so harassed the Spaniards that, on February 22, 1819, Spain ceded all Florida to the Union in consideration of the payment of all claims filed against Spain by citizens of the States, which amounted to $5,000,000.

The Acquisition of Texas and Other Territory.—Texas had been claimed by both France and Spain, but after the revolt of Mexico against Spain the territory came under Mexican rule. This condition continued until 1836, when Texas declared her independence, and in the war which followed this declaration the Texans defeated the Mexican general Santa Anna. The republic then set up in Texas was recognized by the United States, France, England and Belgium, but Mexico refused to acknowledge the new republic or to concede its independence. Affairs on the border therefore remained unsettled and warlike, which prompted several leading men of the United States to advocate the annexation of Texas, but by others such a measure was violently opposed, upon the grounds of alleged unconstitutionality, and denial that Texas had achieved independence. In 1844 Calhoun, Secretary of State under Tyler, concluded a treaty of annexation, but the Senate refused to ratify it, and the contest was

spirited until February 27, 1845, when a joint resolution passed the Senate, and was concurred in by the House on the following day, admitting Texas to the Union. Mexico immediately declared war, but after a brief campaign of invasion the United States compelled Mexico to yield in the dispute, but with rare generosity made a payment to Mexico of $15,000,000, and also $3,200,000 in settlement of the claims of private citizens against the Mexican Government, by which acts of conquest and purchase there was added to the Union in 1848 what is now California, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada and part of Arizona and Colorado, in all 545,783 square miles. In 1853, by the Gadsden treaty, the southern part of Arizona, comprising 45,535 square miles, was purchased from Mexico for the sum of $10,000,000.

The Acquisition of Alaska.—In the year 1867 Alaska, with its 577,390 square miles, was purchased by the United States from Russia, on the recommendation of Secretary of State Seward, for $7,200,000. Prior to this purchase a syndicate had been formed in New York to buy Alaska, with a view to controlling the trade in sealskins, and negotiations to this end proceeded so far that the government felt called upon to take action and deny the right of a private corporation to make the purchase for the purposes indicated. It was this denial that led to the acquisition of Alaska by the United States.

Our Pacific Colonies.—In 1898 a treaty of annexation was ratified by the Senate with Hawaii, 6,740 square miles, and by treaty with Spain, December 10, 1898, which provided among other things for the payment of $20,000,000 to Spain: there was ceded to the United States the Philippine group of Islands, 144,000 square miles; also Porto Rico, 33,668 square miles, and Guam, an island of the Ladrone group, about 100 square miles. At the same time Spain relinquished all her claims upon Cuba, whose independence the United States acknowledged.

In 1889, by a tripartite agreement with Germany and England, the Samoan group of islands, in the South Pacific, was partitioned,

and the United States acquired the Island of Tutuila, 54 square miles, which is valuable chiefly for its magnificent harbor of Pago-Pago.

Opposition of the Anti-Imperialists.—It has been shown how the Federalists defamed Jefferson for his action in consummating the Louisiana Purchase, and the bitter opposition of the Whigs to the annexation of Texas, in both cases contention being vigorously made on the allegation that such acquisitions are contrary to both the spirit and the terms of the Constitution. It will be remembered, too, that President Grant, during his first administration, urged by message and personal influence annexation of the Island of San Domingo (Hayti), but his design was defeated by the opposition which developed in the Senate against the acquisition of territory not contiguous to the Union, and also by the argument based upon the sentiment that it is contrary to the spirit of the Union to extinguish the independence of a republic, Hayti being a republic.

The Government of Our Island Possessions.—The McKinley administration was confronted by a grave question when we came, by force of circumstances, to be a great colonial power. The precedents which were made when the United States annexed contiguous territory could not apply with force or consistency to the acquisition of islands far removed from the home government. The policy of protection, which had become a cardinal doctrine of the Republican party, obtruded itself too into the annexation question, and caused a confusion which no modern statesmanship was able to reconcile. The policy had heretofore obtained that acquisition meant absorption, and the immediate enjoyment of all trade privileges possessed by the States. Territorial form of government carried with it no abridgment of trade privileges, so that our territories and Alaska enjoyed free trade intercourse with the United States. The annexation of Porto Rico and the Philippines, however, raised a new question that controverted the old maxim, "the Constitution follows the flag."

Protected interests, especially the sugar and tobacco trusts, at once demanded that a discriminative tariff be laid upon productions of Porto Rico and the Philippines, basing their argument less upon the justice of such impositions than upon the effects which free trade would have upon home industries, especially tobacco and sugar. The President at first recommended free trade with Porto Rico as a measure of right and good faith, but he was overborne by demands of the powerful trust barons, and accepted a compromise in order to avoid an inglorious defeat. The original tariff agreed upon for products from Porto Rico was twenty-five per cent of the rates fixed by the Dingley bill. The compromise measure was fifteen per cent of the Dingley rates and the restitution, or "donation," as it was called, to Porto Rico of all tariff receipts from the island from the date of its acquisition, October 18, 1898. This concession, which permitted the evil principle to remain, gave no satisfaction, and as there appeared no other way of settling the question, it was carried directly to the Supreme Court, upon the contention that the Congress had no authority for levying a tariff or passing laws that discriminate against trade between the States or any part of the established territory of the United States.

A Question as to Hawaiian Rights.—The fact must not be overlooked, notwithstanding President McKinley in his annual message declared that the people of Hawaii "are entitled to the benefits and privileges of our Constitution," that the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Paris (1898) asserted, and had adopted at the end of the ninth article the following clause, "The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories (islands) hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress":

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of the citizens

of the United States." Similar articles appear in the treaties with Spain (1819) for the purchase of Florida, and with Mexico (1848).

It is upon the marked differences that distinguish the treaty of 1898 from previous ones, ceding territory to the United States, that certain affected interests rely for a constitutional interpretation, placing the right with Congress to levy a tariff on Porto Rico and the Philippine products. It can be seen at once that the question is one which if decided in favor of the protection policy will be followed by a clamor for constitutional amendment, while if the decision is opposed to that, a rift will be created in the principle of protection which will fiercely stimulate the agitation for free trade.

THE INCOME TAX.

It may confidently be predicted that in the next Presidential campaign one of the parties' platforms will contain a plank declaring for an income tax. There are two reasons upon which to base this prophecy, viz: because of labor agitation, and the claim that the tax burdens of government are laid unequally; that the masses, and the poor especially, are compelled to bear a proportion greater than does the capitalist, who can so easily hide his personal property from the assessor, and thus escape taxation. A second and probably more cogent reason may be found in the speedy promise of a general adoption of the policy of reciprocity. Our trade with foreign countries is extending with such amazing rapidity, and our manufacturing interests are growing so fast, far beyond the demands of home consumption, that outlets must be found for our fast increasing surplus products. Reciprocity was recommended by McKinley, and the policy has been adopted by Roosevelt, which may be taken as committing the Republican party to the theory. Reciprocity is but another name for free trade; that is to say, it is the admission, free of duty, of specified articles from any country that extends the same privileges to us. If reciprocity is found to open new markets to our supplies, as it has done in the limited experimental trials, how natural a thing will be the approach of absolute free trade through treaties with all nations!

A Second Cogent Reason.—But even limited reciprocity must affect the government revenues, and in the proportion that these fall off, through a diminution of the customs, will the necessity for an increase of internal revenue taxes appear. The question will then present itself: Will the people insist upon the laying of an income tax, or submit to taxation on the thousand articles of everyday use? Example is afforded of an income tax collected in nearly every civilized country of the world, and the United States being the only excep-

tion, the temper of the people distinctly favors, or will very soon do so, the imposition of such a tax here.

The Tax as Once Imposed in This Country.—Notwithstanding every nation of Europe has a graduated or fixed income tax law, and little complaint has attended its enforcement, the principle has always heretofore been repugnant to Americans. Prior to 1894 but one income tax law ever got into the national statutes, and then it was imposed as an exigent matter growing out of the government's necessities incident to the Civil War. On August 5, 1861, Congress authorized an annual tax of 3 per cent on all incomes of $800 and over. This act was modified by another passed in July, 1862, which fixed the tax at 5 per cent on all incomes under $5,000, with an exemption of house rent and $600. Incomes between $5,000 and $10,000 were taxed 7½ per cent, and above $10,000 the rate was 10 per cent without exemption. Further taxes of 5 per cent were laid on the incomes of Americans living abroad, and of 1½ per cent on incomes derived from United States securities, this latter law expiring in 1865. In 1864 a special tax of 5 per cent was imposed on incomes above $600. In the latter part of the same year there was a readjustment by which the tax was made 5 per cent on incomes between $600 and $5,000, and 10 per cent above $10,000. In a test case the United States Supreme Court pronounced these taxes indirect and constitutional.

The Wilson Income Tax.—In 1894 "an act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the government and for other purposes," commonly called the "Wilson Bill," became a law. By its terms a tax was imposed on all incomes over $4,000, however derived. Again the constitutionality of the act was attacked, upon the plea that such a tax was class legislation, and taking this view of it, in 1895 the Supreme Court, by a majority of one only, declared it to be not only class legislation, but also direct taxation, and therefore should have been apportioned among the States.

A bare majority decision of the Supreme Court, especially when there was on record a full court decision of that same supreme judicial body pronouncing the income tax of 1864 constitutional and just, failed to satisfy public opinion, and for a considerable time thereafter the press teemed with discussion favoring and denouncing the adverse decision.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

After the overthrow of the empire of the first Napoleon (1812), France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria formed an alliance for preserving the balance of power and suppressing revolutions which might occur in their respective dominions. The Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere having revolted the report spread, and was widely believed, that the allied powers contemplated a combined attempt to put down the insurrection. Should such an effort succeed it was perceived that the nations participating would demand reward for their services and, if not prevented from doing so, would certainly take territory as their compensation, and thus Spanish America would be farmed out to the allied powers. In this ambitious lust for territorial acquisition England had no sympathy, but, believing her own possessions in America to be threatened by the alliance, George Canning, Secretary of State for the English colonies, made a proposal to the United States to join England in armed (if necessary) prevention of any interference which the allied powers might undertake with the affairs, revolutionary or otherwise, of the revolting colonies. After a consultation with his best advisers, viz: Jefferson, Madison, John Quincy Adams, and Calhoun, President Monroe agreed to the proposal made by Canning, and in his annual message to Congress, 1823, enunciated what has ever since been known as the "Monroe Doctrine." Referring to the reported proposed intervention of European powers, the message contained this declaratory clause: "The United States will consider any attempt upon the part of foreign powers to extend their system to any portion of the Western Hemisphere as dangerous to the peace and safety of this government." And to make the purpose of this declaration definite and clear, the message stated: "The American

continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

How the Doctrine Has Been Maintained.—The boldness of this public utterance, made at a time when our nation was too weak to be able to maintain the doctrine should it be opposed by the allied powers, produced temporary alarm, but England lent such support as to strengthen and revive the faltering spirit of timid citizens, whereupon rather than risk war, with such small excuse for the waging, if in reality the Alliance ever contemplaed the interference reported, the proposal was abandoned. The Monroe Doctrine has stood, ever since its promulgation, as one of the bulwarks of our nation's stability, influence, and purpose. By the exclusion of foreign powers from territorial acquisition in America, we have fortified our own security against attack, for, being separated, by a wide ocean, from all the strong nations of Europe our country is practically secure against invasion, and remains free from complications which the proximity of territorial interests of European governments would always threaten.

The Doctrine Enforced Against England.—As has just been shown, it was really at the instigation, so to speak, of England that the Monroe Doctrine was declared, and by her influence it was supported, notwithstanding which the only times it has ever been threatened was by England, viz: in the matter of the Isthmus of Panama, and her territorial dispute with Venezuela. England has tried in vain to obtain acknowledgment of her right to build, or to assist in the building, of a Panama canal, which if secured would permit her to acquire property, landed and personal, in the Isthmus, and this acquisition, however small, would result in a nullification of the principle, as well as of the fact, of the Monroe Doctrine. If, also, England should be thus favored, upon whatever terms, other governments, in the Eastern Hemisphere, might with good reason, if not with full

justification, demand the right to acquire territory, by purchase, or by arbitrary means, in America.

England Compelled to Arbitrate Her Claim.—During President Cleveland's second administration an attempt was threatened by England to take possession of certain gold-bearing lands which Venezuela claimed were well within the boundary of her own territorial limits. The dispute had been one of long standing, but became acute after large gold discoveries in the contested district had been made, and England showed a disposition to forcibly occupy the auriferous territory, when President Cleveland opposed such action by a reiteration of the Monroe Doctrine and compelled England to refer the matter of disputed boundary to a court of arbitration. A decision was not reached until after a long and searching contest, conducted by the ablest counsel in the world, in which ex-President Harrison was one of those who represented the claims of Venezuela, and when the award was made, it was in general terms favorable to Venezuela. England accepted it as final and the incident closed with another triumph for the Monroe Doctrine.

The Doctrine Affected by Our Colonial Policy.—The United States has been, until the Spanish-American War, a government of internal development, except when the policy was departed from by the purchase of Alaska, 1867. Our expansion, it is true, has been great since we became a nation, but it has heretofore been by the acquisition of contiguous territory, to which action foreign powers could take no exception. When, however, the fortunes of war gave our country the Philippines, and circumstances made it advisable to raise the American flag over Hawaii, the situation as respects isolation, and hence the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, became materially changed. Certain foreign powers claim that our government has trenched upon their spheres of influence in entering upon a scheme of colonization, and that such a policy contravenes the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. This contention, while thus far only a tenta-

tive objection, may assume a well-defined state in the near future, and thus become a serious problem for administrative solution. The most immediate prospect seems to point to an attempt on the part of Germany to obtain a footing in South America, particularly in Brazil, where, because of a very large German immigration in recent years, her influence is already predominant.

RECIPROCITY—WHAT IT MEANS AND PROMISES.

A history of reciprocity, which means reciprocal trade advantages between countries, is easily given, because the policy of mutual trade interchange between nations is of such recent promulgation as to be well within the remembrance of the middle-aged. It is true, a reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States was made as early as 1854 (terminated 1866), and a similar one between the United States and Hawaii was concluded in 1875. But it was to James G. Blaine that the policy owes its real force and declaration, who while Secretary of State pronounced and strenuously advocated the theory of reciprocity, and urged its adoption in our trade relations, with the Governments of South and Central America especially. Although his advocacy of the policy did not bear considerable immediate fruits, the forcible arguments which he advanced produced a decided effect by causing serious consideration of the subject among the people, and interest in it, as a possible cure for the evils of high protection, has not ceased to grow during the past ten years.

Reciprocity Treaties Which Are Now in Effect.—The McKinley tariff of 1890 provided for the reimposition of taxes that had been removed on sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides in cases where it might be considered that countries producing these products levied a high rate of duty on manufactured articles made in the United States. With the inducement which this authority gave to certain countries, reciprocity treaties, limited in their scope, were concluded in 1891-92 with Brazil, Spain (for her West Indian colonies), San Domingo, Germany, Great Britain (for her West Indian possessions), Austria-Hungary, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala. The Wilson Bill of 1894, however, repealed the act of reciprocity in great

part, but the Dingley Act of 1897 restored all its provisions, and, in addition, while raising the tariff greatly on a majority of imported articles, reduced the duties on wines, liquors, works of art, etc., and provided for future reductions on specified articles two years later—1899. Agreements were made in 1898 with France, and with Germany and Portugal in 1900, providing for reciprocal trade in certain products, and treaties of like import are now pending in the Senate between the United States and several countries.

The Opposition of Radical Protectionists.—Radical protectionists—those who favor a tariff high enough to prohibit the importation of competing products—have bitterly contested the reciprocity policy of President McKinley, and will no doubt show no less vigorous opposition to its continuance by President Roosevelt, who has declared his purpose to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious and lamented predecessor. We should understand that the concessions recommended by McKinley in his Buffalo Exposition speech the day before he was murdered, would not disturb the essential protective value of the high tariff; for the reciprocity which he proposed was based wholly upon the principle that articles which we cannot produce successfully should be admitted under a low duty, or even free, when by such admittance we may obtain in foreign markets outlets for the things which we produce in greater quantities than is needed for home consumption. Such a policy is based on the broadest consideration of national welfare. It was this spirit which prompted the President, in his last public speech, to point out that the time had come when the one purpose nearest to his heart should henceforth be harmonized with new methods, and with those changes in the industrial situation which make it wise to adopt a carefully framed policy of reciprocal trade.

Roosevelt Maintains the McKinley Policy.—Gratification must be felt, as has already been expressed, that President Roosevelt should be in perfect accord with the national plans and purposes originated and pursued by McKinley, whose statesmanship—brilliant, exemp-

lary, wise, as it was—is a heritage of inextinguishable lustre and inestimable beneficence to the American people.

At no other time in the life of the Republic have conditions so urgently demanded a modification of our tariff system. To President McKinley the credit must in generous part be given for the rapid expansion of our foreign trade; that this large increase has been due in no small measure to the operation of our protective tariff laws no careful observer may deny, but though this fact is apparent, it is no less obvious, as our lamented President clearly pointed out, that the tremendous advance made, in the past three years particularly, in the productive energies and trade dissemination of the country calls imperatively for a material change in laws which, though at one time needful, now act as weights upon the feet of American commerce.

American Goods Displacing Foreign.—To-day, to our honor, aye, glory, it can truthfully be asserted that American goods of field, and mill, and factory are crowding out the competition of every country on the globe. It is America now that furnishes locomotives, steel rails, electrical machinery, street cars, shoes, agricultural implements, coal, and a great variety of iron products, such as water-pipe, structural steel, etc., not only to China, Japan, India, Africa, but even to England herself, as well as to all the nations of Europe. We can beat all competition by furnishing better articles at less prices than any other country. This being so, why should we not make treaties with other governments that will promote reciprocal trade? It is this policy looking to our national welfare that McKinley enunciated and to which Roosevelt is committed by pledge and statesmanship.

THE TRUST QUESTION.

One of the most serious as it is probably the most complex question with which our government must soon deal decisively, is that which concerns combinations of capital for the purpose of controlling the output, and hence the market price of manufactured products. That it presents many aspects, ranging from beneficent design to the greatest evil tyranny can impose upon the helpless, must be confessed by all who dispassionately consider the matter. Co-operation of labor, organization of workmen, or any combination of persons for a specific purpose, to the exclusion of others, is essentially a "trust," as we have come to understand the significance of that word. Corners in grain, or in staples of everyday use and universal need, bring us at once face to face with the problem as it affects our immediate and personal interests, while trusts that manufacture machinery, that control the output of iron mills, or the means of transportation, thus raising the price, however great, to concerns that must buy for their own use, or in turn to supply to smaller companies—such aggregations of capital do not so directly appeal to our sense of injustice. Yet it is not in degree that the wrong lies, but in principle, and the harmfulness in the case where our personal interest is touched is no greater in fact than that which is committed in a general way, for in the end, if there be oppression perpetrated upon a large corporation, whether it be one that builds railroads, steamships, or bridges, the injustice is certain to descend until it reaches the small mechanic and the poorest family. It must be seen, therefore, that a bread trust is really no worse in principle, or in fact, than the steel trust, for though the effect is immediately felt by the masses from operation of the former, the ultimate result of the latter bears equally heavy upon all classes.

How Shall We Repress the Trust.—The evils which follow from combinations of capital being numerous and clearly discernible, the

mighty question confronts us, "How may they be prevented?" Can laws be enacted which will effectually prevent the organization of trusts without at the same time contravening the constitutional guarantee of "liberty, life and the pursuit of happiness?" These words are susceptible of varied construction, as has been proved many times by Supreme Court decisions. Only a short while ago a law was passed by the Illinois Legislature which was designed to prohibit the establishment and conducting of department stores in that State. The law was attacked as being in violation of the constitutional guarantee and the contention was sustained by the court.

A Difficulty Beyond Easy Amendment.—A supreme difficulty is met when attempt is made to frame a prohibitory law applicable to specified industries, for this then becomes class legislation, which is forbidden by the Constitution, and it is for this reason that anti-trust laws already enacted have remained unenforced. A labor organization that is formed to control the price of labor, which enforces its demands by strikes or menaces, is a trust quite as much as is a combination of capital formed to control the price of products. So also would be an agreement made by a number of farmers to hold their grain in order to force a higher price for what they have to sell. We recognize the perfect right of labor to organize, and to use all means, short of lawlessness, to keep wages at the highest, and the farmer or any combination of farmers may justly refuse to sell their produce until it pleases them to do so, for these are inalienable privileges; but admitting this right, shall the same privilege be denied to any other combination of persons in their capacities as manufacturers? The difficulty, as it must be seen, lies in our lack of ability to frame a law that will make a distinction without infringing personal rights. It is not sufficient to say that the greater wrong to the community is committed by aggregations of capital; this must be admitted; but though we fully appreciate the fact, our dilemma is not in the least lessened thereby, since the law cannot discriminate, and must be no respecter of persons.

In our very complex civilization, and especially in the pursuit of wealth, so ruinous to our moral well-being, complications are found which are not to be unravelled by the enactment of laws. Not a few things are deplorable which are also unremediable, and the operation of trusts seems to be one of these. The question, in many respects, is similar to that presented by the liquor problem. Everybody admits the evils of intemperance, but no one has yet been able to devise a means for suppressing traffic in intoxicants, and the indications are that, for reasons perfectly patent, viz: personal profits, trusts will continue regardless of restrictive or prohibitory laws.

THE PROPOSED ISTHMIAN CANAL.

One of the most important commercial questions now under consideration by the United States Government is that which concerns the construction of a ship canal through the narrow neck of Central America. Two routes have been proposed, and a history of the efforts to perform this gigantic work of engineering, the completion of which will be followed by incalculable benefits to commerce and governments, may be thus told: The attempt to build such a canal was first undertaken by the Panama Canal Company, which was organized by Count de Lesseps, March 3, 1880, who obtained a concession from the Columbian government under an agreement to complete and open the canal for commerce by March 3, 1893. The grand total of shares of authorized issue had a face value of $500,000,000. Most of these were subscribed, but after $156,000,000 had been expended the company became bankrupt in 1889, and great scandal followed, which led to the trial of Count de Lesseps upon charges of fraud, preferred in France, and he was convicted and sentenced to serve a prison term. Thus ended in disgrace the first effort to cut a waterway by what was called the Panama route. By the original survey, and on which the work of cutting was conducted, the total length of the canal was to be forty-six and one-half miles, and it is estimated that nearly one-third of the work was complete when collapse of the company occurred and its affairs were placed in the hands of a receiver.

In 1894 a new company was formed, which obtained a renewal of the Columbian concession, which requires completion of the canal by the year 1910, but confidence was so thoroughly destroyed by the

scandal and failure of the De Lesseps company that funds have not been forthcoming with which to continue the work.

The Nicaragua Canal.—Many distinguished engineers have maintained that the route selected by the Panama Canal Company is an impracticable one because of the excessive cost of construction, but the general recognition of the value of such a waterway has kept the subject of building continually before the public for several years, and effort has not been wanting to perfect the undertaking. Captain James B. Eads, the noted engineer, proposed the construction of a ship railway across the Isthmus, and had almost succeeded in organizing a company with sufficient capital for the work when death seized him in the midst of his labors and no further effort has since been made to build such a railway.

In 1889, the year of the failure of the French company, the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua, with a capital of $100,000,000, was incorporated under a charter granted by the United States Congress, a concession having been previously obtained from the Government of Nicaragua for constructing and operating an interoceanic ship canal. Excavation was begun by this company October 8, 1891, at Greytown, on the Pacific Coast, and in 1892 one mile of the one hundred and sixty-nine and one-half miles of the total route was opened. This route is now very generally believed to be the most practical and least expensive to construct, because of the adequate high water level supply furnished by lakes Nicaragua and Managua, which being on the surveyed route are to be made a part of the canal, thus reducing the distance of actual cutting to be done to less than fifty miles.

Progress of the Maritime Canal Company.—The amount of money expended in the work and plant of the Maritime Canal Company was $600,000 when the first mile was finished, but it was then seen that the cost of completing would exceed the original estimates and government aid was accordingly solicited. This application in 1894 brought forth a bill unanimously reported by the Senate For-

eign Committee recommending a governmental guarantee of $100,000,000, but opposition in the Senate caused its withdrawal. Interest in the enterprise continued, however, and in 1895, 1897, and again in 1899 Congress provided for the appointment of commissions to investigate and report upon both the Nicaragua and the Panama routes. In pursuance of these instructions the Commission of 1899 made a preliminary report in 1900 recommending the Nicaragua route and estimating the total cost of the work at $200,540,000. The commission unfortunately was not unanimous in its recommendations, and a distinguished engineer, who has made a thorough investigation of both routes, has since reported that a canal by the Panama route, using the cutting that has already been done, may be completed for $100,000,000.

The question of adopting a route and raising the money necessary to construct a canal across the isthmus, is not the most serious one connected with the subject, for the contention has been made by England that by the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty she is entitled to share in a joint protectorate over the canal, and as such she opposes fortification of the water-way. A history of how the Clayton-Bulwer treaty came to be made may be thus briefly given.

How the Proposition of a Canal Originated.—The discovery of gold in California in 1848 was followed by a great rush of travel to the new fields, which at first was almost entirely by way of the Isthmus of Panama. It was this mighty influx of gold-seekers, and the wake of commercial trade that swept across the narrow neck, that prompted the idea of an isthmian ship canal. In pursuance of this purpose a treaty was entered into with the Government of Nicaragua in 1849, whereby the United States obtained permission to construct a canal across the isthmus by way of Lake Nicaragua; but one end of this proposed route was at Greytown, which was occupied by British settlers, besides, Great Britain claimed a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast Indians who claimed the territory of that neighborhood. Mr. Clayton, Secretary

of State at the time, asked Great Britain to withdraw her claims to the coast so as to permit the canal to be built at once under joint control of the United States and Nicaragua. This request Great Britain promptly declined to grant, but agreed to enter into a treaty with the United States for a joint protectorate over the canal. Being unable to obtain any concessions from Great Britain, Mr. Clayton negotiated a treaty with that country through Sir H. L. Bulwer, British Minister at Washington, April 19, 1850, which stipulated that neither nation should obtain exclusive control over the canal when built, nor erect fortifications commanding the same, nor exercise authority over any part of Central America.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.—The Clayton-Bulwer treaty never gave satisfaction, and contention is made that, having been repeatedly violated by Great Britain, the United States has long since ceased to be bound by any of its provisions. In February, 1900, Secretary of State Hay negotiated another treaty with Great Britain, through Lord Pauncefote, which provided for the building of a Nicaragua Canal by the United States, but stipulated expressly that the canal should be free, and open in time of war, to vessels of commerce and of war, of all nations, and that no fortifications should be erected to command or defend the canal.

When this treaty came before the Senate on the question of ratification, the provision renouncing all right to fortify was fiercely debated, and developed so much opposition that the treaty was amended by striking out the objectionable clause and inserting in its stead one which gives to the United States the right to defend the canal by means of the nation's forces, which reads as follows: "7. No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder." With this amendment and others less material the treaty was ratified by the Senate December 20, 1900, but required that

mutual ratification of all its terms should be made by the two contracting governments within six months from that date. Great Britain objected to the modification, and as that government refused to sign within the time named, the question originally in dispute still remains to be settled. To this serious issue the new administration, and the new Congress particularly, must now address itself.

Discussions by Great Leaders

OF THE WEIGHTY QUESTIONS AND HARD PROBLEMS
WHICH ARE PRESSING UPON THE NATION
FOR A RIGHT SOLUTION

TO READ THESE EXPRESSIONS
TO CONSIDER WELL THE SUGGESTIONS

And to strive by every patriotic means to help to a wise determination of the issues, without regard to party purpose or affiliation, is the imperative duty of every American that loves his country

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For the attainment of these lofty aims for national good let all parties be consolidated, since it is by such joint action that individual benefit is most surely gained

GREAT ISSUES
TREATED BY GREAT STATESMEN

THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY.

BY PRESIDENT M'KINLEY.

A year before his assassination President McKinley, with that rare prophetic vision which distinguished him scarcely less than his wise statesmanship and lofty patriotism, gave utterance to the following words; words which showed his unlimited confidence and affection for his country, his people and our institutions, as well also his faith in the destiny of the nation, and the means he designed should accomplish the most beneficent purposes of our government:

We have had our blessings and our burdens and still have both. We will soon have legislative assurance of the continuance of the gold standard with which we measure our exchanges, and we have the open door in the Far East through which to market our products.

We are neither in alliance, nor antagonism, nor entanglement with any foreign power, but on terms of amity and cordiality with all. We buy from all of them and sell to all of them, and our sales exceeded our purchases in the past two years by over $1,000,000,000.

Markets have been increased and mortgages have been reduced. Interest has fallen and wages have advanced. The public debt is decreasing. The country is well to do; its people for the most part are happy and contented. They have good times and are on good terms with the nations of the world.

His Optimism Based on Facts.—There are, unfortunately, those among us, few in number I am sure, who seem to thrive best under bad times, and who, when good times overtake them in the United States, feel constrained to put us on bad terms with the rest of mankind. With them I have no sympathy. I would rather give expression to

what I believe to be the nobler and almost universal sentiment of my countrymen in the wish not only for our peace, but for the peace and prosperity of all the nations and peoples of the earth.

After thirty-three years of unbroken peace came an unavoidable war. Happily the conclusion was quickly reached without a suspicion of unworthy motive, or practice, or purpose, on our part, and with fadeless honor to our arms. I cannot forget the quick response of the people to the country's need and the 250,000 men who freely offered their lives to their country's service. It was an impressive spectacle of national strength. It demonstrated our mighty reserve power and taught us that large standing armies are unnecessary when every citizen is a "minute man," ready to join the ranks for national defence.

Out of these recent events have come to the United States great trials and responsibilities. As it was the nation's war, so are its results the nation's problem. Its solution rests upon us all. It is too serious to stifle. It is too earnest for repose. No phrase or catchword can cancel the sacred obligation it involves. No use of epithet; no aspersion of motives by those who differ with us will contribute to that sober judgment so essential to right conclusions.

No political outcry can abrogate our treaty of peace with Spain or absolve us from its solemn engagements. It is the people's question, and will be until its determination is written out in their enlightened verdict. We must choose between manly doing and base desertion. It will never be the latter. We must be soberly settled in justice and good conscience, and it will be. Righteousness, which exalteth a nation, must control in its solution.

The Nation Equal to Any Emergency.—No great emergency has arisen in this nation's history and progress which has not been met by the sovereign people with high capacity, with ample strength and with unflinching fidelity to every honorable obligation. Partisanship can hold few of us against solemn public duty. We have seen this so

often demonstrated in the past as to mark unerringly what it will be in the future.

The national sentiment and the national conscience were never stronger or higher than now. There has been a reunion of the people around the holy altar consecrated to country newly sanctified by common sacrifices. The followers of Grant and Lee have fought under the same flag and fallen for the same faith. Party lines have loosened and the ties of union have been rooted in the hearts of the American people.

Political passion has altogether subsided, and patriotism glows with inextinguishable fervor in every home in the land. The flag has been sustained on distant seas and islands by the men of all parties and section, and creeds, and races, and nationalities, and its stars are only those of radiant hope to the remote peoples over whom it floats.

There can be no imperialism. Those who fear it are against it. Those who have faith in the Republic are against it. So that there is universal abhorrence for it and unanimous opposition to it.

Our only difference is that those who do not agree with us have no confidence in the virtue, or capacity, or high purpose, or good faith of this free people as a civilizing agency; while we believe that the century of free government which the American people have enjoyed has not rendered them faithless and irresolute, we believe also has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better the conditions of those distant peoples who have, through the issue of battle, become our wards.

Strive for the Noblest Ends.—Let us fear not. There is no occasion for faint hearts, no excuse for regrets. Nations do not grow in strength, and the cause of liberty and law is not advanced by the doing of easy things. The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose faith in the soundness and strength of our popular institutions.

The liberators will never become the oppressors. A self-governed people will never permit despotism in any government which they foster and defend.

We have the new care and cannot shift it. And, breaking up the camp of ease and isolation, let us bravely, and hopefully, and soberly continue the march of faithful service and falter not until the work is done. It is not possible that 75,000,000 of American freemen are unable to establish liberty, and justice, and good government in our new possessions. The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden. May God give us strength to bear the one and wisdom to embrace the other and to carry to our distant acquisitions the guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

THE OPEN DOOR TO TRADE IN CHINA.

BY HON. JOHN HAY,
Secretary of State.

By treaty stipulations the United States enjoys in Chinese territory and in the ports of the empire four distinct rights: (1) Exterritoriality—that is, American subjects can only be sued and tried in their own consular courts; (2) In certain ports and settlements they have a right to own property, where realty passes under consular jurisdiction; (3) their trade pays duty by a treaty which can only be altered with the consent of the United States, and these duties are collectible by a Chinese customs service in which Americans are represented by courtesy of the signatory powers; (4) the United States enjoys in China "most favored nation rights" in regard to tonnage, harbor and other dues.

The last three of these rights were placed in imminent jeopardy by the scramble of European powers for fragments of the Chinese Empire, once the prophesied disintegration should set in. The diplomatic point was to preserve them to the United States, no matter what leading nation or commercial rival might, in the partition or spoliation of China, step into authority, or wish to abrogate them. In such an event, the three rights selected are deemed sufficient to protect our vested rights in treaty settlements, of which that at Shanghai is the largest and best defined; they insure a low tariff on American imports to China whether of American origin or shipped under our flag, and they guard against discrimination either in transportation rates by road or rail, or in dues and taxes on transport.

The categorical acceptance of these rights insures the freedom of American trade in China for all time to come over the entire area of

what is now the Chinese Empire. Great Britain was first in its response and most explicit in its declaration. It accepts the principle proposed by the United States for all the leased territory it now holds at Wei-Hai-Wei, and as to all territory to come. Germany was the last to respond, and the text of its answer, so far as published, guarantees "absolute equality of treatment of all nations with regard to trade, navigation and commerce" "so long as it is not found in the future to depart from this principle on account of consideration of reciprocity by divergence from it by other governments."

The guarantee of equality is not precisely the same pledge as a maintenance of a treaty tariff, but as Germany is of course included in the powers which in the final dispatch are said to have "accepted the declaration suggested by the United States concerning foreign trade in China," it is clear that Germany with the rest has accepted the three points of protection for treaty rights, the treaty tariff and uniform rates for the subjects of all nations over China. This "declaration" will constitute the common datum from which all future negotiations in China will start. It creates for China, its wide territory, its great population and its growing trade, a common agreement among civilized nations which must control all their future actions.

The treaties of Vienna, Paris and Berlin were no more important in determining the mutual rights and relations of European states, or the Berlin convention for Africa. This "declaration" brings to a common basis a great body of treaties extending over half a century, defines action and limits interference with foreign commercial rights in all future acquisitions by any signatory powers, and creates a new "doctrine" for China by establishing the right of the Imperial Government to collect duties, requiring its assent to any change in the present tariff, and guaranteeing its leases of treaty "settlements."

Firmness of Our Demands.—This great service has been done by the United States for the trade and peace of the world, by the firm but amicable demand that recognized treaty rights should be accepted

as constituting, so to speak, a servitude or easement upon all Chinese territory. Once accepted by all nations, this declaration will, as past precedents show, be enforced by all nations. Important to each European nation, this concession is of paramount value to the United States, whose Pacific coast line is the greatest on that ocean, whose posts encircle and cross it, and whose trade is destined to be greater than that of any other nation. During the twentieth century this new "doctrine" established for China is destined to be as important as the Monroe Doctrine has been for the Americans in the past century. It protects the present, it safeguards the future and it establishes the United States in an impregnable position, antagonizing no nation, entangled with none and demanding for all and of all the equal rights guaranteed by past treaties and accepted by this new "declaration."

Each of the powers interested—Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy and Spain—gave a formal pledge in writing as follows:

1. That it will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

2. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within such "spheres of influence" (unless they be "free ports") no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

3. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled or operated within its "sphere," or merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities, transported through such "sphere," than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationality transported over equal distances.

Gains Made by Our Treaties.—These pledges were given in each case with the understanding that they would stand if the other powers

made similar pledges, which they all did. Then each power was informed of the fact that the others had acceded. When that was accomplished the matter was ended. Great Britain was the first power approached and Japan the last. All of them showed the utmost cordiality toward the United States, and the shape in which the matter now stands, while not literally in the form of a treaty, practically has the same effect. There is no probability of any power withdrawing from that pledge as long as the United States has the support of any other great nation in holding the others to the pledges given. There will never be any question about Great Britain and Japan standing by the United States in this matter, and therefore this great diplomatic achievement, one of the most important in the history of the United States, is secure to our people.

TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

BY HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, OF NEBRASKA.

The trust principle is not a new principle, but the trust principle is manifesting itself in so many ways, and the trusts have grown so rapidly, that people now feel alarmed about trusts who did not feel alarmed three years ago. The trust question has grown in importance because within two years more trusts have been organized, when we come to consider the capitalization and the magnitude of the interests involved, than were organized in all the previous history of the country, and the people now come face to face with this question: Is the trust a blessing or a curse? If a curse, what remedy can be applied to the curse?

I want to start with the declaration that a monopoly in private hands is indefensible from any standpoint, and intolerable. I make no exceptions to the rule. I do not divide monopolies into good monopolies and bad monopolies. There is no good monopoly in private hands. There can be no good monopoly in private hands until the Almighty sends us angels to preside over the monopoly. There may be a despot who is better than another despot, but there is no good despotism. One trust may be less harmful than another. One trust magnate may be more benevolent than another, but there is no good monopoly in private hands, and I do not believe it is safe for society to permit any man or group of men to monopolize any article of merchandise or any branch of industry.

What is the defence made of the monopoly? The defence of the monopoly is always placed on the ground that if you allow a few people to control the market and fix the price they will be good to the people who purchase of them. The entire defence of the trusts rests

upon a money argument. If the trust will sell to a man an article for a dollar less than the article will cost under other conditions, then in the opinion of some that proves a trust to be a good thing. In the first place I deny that under a monopoly the price will be reduced. In the second place, if under a monopoly the price is reduced, the objections to a monopoly from other standpoints far outweigh any financial advantage that the trust may bring. But I protest in the beginning against settling every question upon the dollar argument. I protest against the attempt to drag every question down to the low level of dollars and cents.

Lincoln's Warning.—In 1859 Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter to the Republicans of Boston who were celebrating Jefferson's birthday, and in the course of the letter he said: "The Republican party believes in the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict it believes in the man before the dollar." In the early years of his administration he sent a message to Congress, and in that message he warned his countrymen against the approach of monarchy. And what was it that alarmed him? He said it was the attempt to put capital upon an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government, and in that attempt to put capital even upon an equal footing with labor in the structure of government he saw the approach of monarchy. Lincoln was right. Whenever you put capital upon an equal footing with labor or above labor in the structure of government you are on the road toward a government that rests not upon reason but upon force.

Nothing is more important than that we shall in the beginning rightly understand the relation between money and man. Man is the creature of God and money is the creature of man. Money is made to be the servant of man, and I protest against all theories that enthrone money and debase mankind.

What is the purpose of the trust or the monopoly? For when I use the word trust I use it in the sense that the trust means monopoly. What is the purpose of monopoly? You can find out from the speeches

made by those who are connected with trusts. I have here a speech made by Charles R. Flint at Boston on the twenty-fifth day of last May, and the morning papers of the twenty-sixth in describing the meeting said he defended trust principles before an exceedingly sympathetic audience, and then added: "For his audience was composed almost exclusively of Boston bankers." "We thus secure," he says, "the advantages of larger aggregations of capital and ability; if I am asked what they are, the answer is only difficult because the list is so long."

Advantages Claimed by the Trust.—But I want now to quote to you a few of the advantages to be derived by the trusts from the trust system. "Raw material bought in large quantities is secured at lower prices." That is the first advantage. One man to buy wool for all the woolen manufacturers. That means that every man who sells wool must sell it at the price fixed by this one purchaser in the United States. The first thing is to lower the price of raw material. The great majority of the people are engaged in the production of raw material and in the purchase of finished products. Comparatively few can stand at the head of syndicates and monopolies and secure the profits from them. Therefore, the first advantage of a monopoly is to lower the price of the raw material furnished by the people. Note the next advantage: "Those plants which are best equipped and most advantageously situated are run continuously and in preference to those less favored."

The next thing, after they have bought all the factories, is to close some of them and to turn out of employment the men who are engaged in them. If you will go about over the country you will see where people have subscribed money to establish enterprises, and where these enterprises, having come under the control of the trusts, have been closed and stand now as silent monuments of the trust system.

Behold the next advantage: "In case of local strikes and fires,

the work goes on elsewhere, thus preventing serious loss." Do not the laboring men understand what that means? "In case of local strikes or fires, the work goes on elsewhere, thus preventing serious loss." What does it mean? It means that if the people employed in one factory are not satisfied with the terms fixed by the employer, and strike, the trust can close that factory and let the employes starve while work goes on in other factories, without loss to the manufacturers.

How Labor Is Oppressed.—It means that when the trust has frozen out the striking employes in one factory and compelled them to return to work at any price to secure bread for their wives and children, it can provoke a strike somewhere else and freeze the workmen out there. When a branch of industry is entirely in the hands of one great monopoly, so that every skilled man in that industry has to go to the one man for employment, then that one man will fix wages as he pleases, and the laboring men will share the suffering of the man who sells the raw materials.

"There is no multiplication of the means of distribution, and a better force of salesmen takes the place of a large number." That is the next advantage named. I want to warn you that when the monopoly has absolute control, brains will be at a discount, and relatives will be found to fill these positions. When there is competition every employer has to get a good man to meet competition, but when there is no competition, anybody can sit in the office and receive letters and answer them, because everybody has to write to the same house for anything he wants. There is no question about it. A trust, a monopoly, can lessen the cost of distribution. But when it does so society has no assurance that it will get anything of the benefits from that reduction of cost. But you will take away the necessity for skill and brains. You will take away the stimulus that has given to us the quick, the ever alert commercial traveler. These commercial evangelists, who go from one part of the country to the other, proclaiming the

merits of their respective goods, will not be needed, because when anybody wants merchandise, all he has to do is to write to the one man who has the article for sale and say, "What will you let me have it for to-day?"

And here is another advantage: "Terms and conditions of sale become more uniform and credit can be more safely granted." The trust cannot only fix the price of what it sells, but it can fix the terms upon which it sells. You can pay cash, or, if there is a discount, it is just so much discount, and you have to trust to the manager's generosity as to what is fair when he is on one side and you on the other.

The Promise to Lower Prices.—What is the first thing to be expected of a trust? That it will cut down expenses. What is the second? That it will raise prices. We have not had in this country a taste of a complete trust, a complete monopoly, and we cannot tell what will be the results of a complete monopoly by looking at the results that have followed from an attempt to secure a monopoly. A corporation may lower prices to rid itself of competitors; but when it has rid itself of competitors, what is going to be the result? My friends, all you have to know is human nature. God made men selfish. I do not mean to say that He made a mistake when He did, because selfishness is merely the outgrowth of an instinct of self-preservation. It is the abnormal development of a man's desire to protect himself; but everybody who knows human nature knows how easy it is to develop that side of a man's being. Occasionally I find a man who says he is not selfish, but when I do, I find a man who can prove it only by his own affidavit.

I believe in self-government. I believe in the doctrines that underlie this government. I believe that people are capable of governing themselves. Why? Because in their sober moments they have helped to put rings in their own noses, to protect others from themselves and themselves from others in hours of temptation. And so I believe we must recognize human nature. We must recognize selfish-

ness, and we must so make our laws that people shall not be permitted to trespass upon the rights of others in their efforts to secure advantages for themselves.

How Society Is Interested.—I believe society is interested in the independence of every citizen. I wish we might have a condition where every adult who died might die leaving to his widow and children enough property for the education of his children and the support of his widow. Society is interested in this because if a man dies and leaves no provision for his wife and children, the burden falls upon society. But while I wish to see every person secure for himself a competency, I don't want him to destroy more than he is worth while he is doing that. And I believe the principle of monopoly finds its inspiration in the desire of men to secure by monopoly what they cannot secure in the open field of competition. In other words, if I were going to try to find the root of the monopoly evil, I would do as I have often had occasion to do—go back to the Bible for an explanation—and I would find it in the declaration that the love of money is the root of all evil.

Let me repeat that the primary cause of monopoly is the love of money and the desire to secure the fruits of monopoly; but I believe that falling prices, caused by the rising dollar, have contributed to this desire, and intensified it, because people, seeing the fall in prices, and measuring the loss of investments, have looked about for some means to protect themselves from this loss, and they have joined in combinations to hold up prices to protect their investments from a loss which would not have occurred but for the rise in the value of dollars and the fall in the level of prices.

Another thing that, in my judgment, has aided monopoly is a high tariff. Nobody can dispute that a tariff law, an import duty, enables a trust to charge for its product the price of a similar foreign product plus the tariff.

Free Trade Not a Panacea.—Now, some have suggested that to put everything on the free list that trusts make would destroy the trusts. I do not agree with this statement, as it is made so broadly. I believe that the high tariff has been the means of extortion, and that it has aided trusts to collect more than they otherwise could collect. But I do not believe you could destroy all trusts by putting all trust-made articles on the free list. Why? Because, if an article can be produced in the country as cheaply as it can be produced abroad, the trust could exist without the aid of any tariff, although it could not extort so much as it could with the tariff. While some relief may come from modifications of the tariff, we cannot destroy monopoly until we lay the axe at the root of the tree and make monopoly impossible by law.

It has been suggested that discrimination by railroads has aided trusts. No question about it. If one man can secure from a railroad better rates than another man, he will be able to run the other man out of business. And there is no question that discrimination and favoritism secured by one corporation against a rival have been largely instrumental in enabling the favored corporations to secure practically a complete monopoly. Now, that can be remedied by laws that will prevent this discrimination; but when we prevent the discrimination—when we place every producer upon the same footing and absolutely prevent favoritism—monopoly may still exist. The remedy must go farther. It must be complete enough to prevent the organization of a monopoly.

Now, what can be done to prevent the organization of a monopoly? I think we differ more in remedy than we do in our opinion of the trust. I venture the opinion that few people will defend monopoly as a principle, or a trust organization as a good thing, but I imagine our great difference will be as to remedy, and I want, for a moment, to discuss the remedy.

How to Destroy Trusts Is the Question.—We have a dual form of government. We have a State government and a Federal government, and while this dual form of government has its advantages, and, to my mind, advantages which can hardly be overestimated, yet it also has its disadvantages. When you prosecute a trust in the United States court, it hides behind State sovereignty; and when you prosecute it in the State court, it rushes to cover under Federal jurisdiction—and we have had some difficulty in prosecuting a remedy.

I believe we ought to have remedies in both State and nation, and that they should be concurrent remedies. In the first place, every State has, or should have, the right to create any private corporation which, in the judgment of the people of the State, is conducive to the welfare of the people of that State. I believe we can safely intrust to the people of a State the settlement of a question which concerns them. If they create a corporation, and it becomes destructive of their best interests, they can destroy that corporation, and we can safely trust them both to create and annihilate, if conditions make annihilations necessary. In the second place, the State has, or should have, the right to prohibit any foreign corporation from doing business in the State, and it has, or should have, the right to impose such restrictions and limitations as the people of the State may think necessary upon foreign corporations doing business in the State. In other words, the people of the State not only should have a right to create such corporations as they may want, but they should be permitted to protect themselves against any outside corporation.

But I do not think this is sufficient. I believe that in addition to a State remedy there must be a Federal remedy, and I believe Congress has, or should have, the power to place restrictions and limitations, even to the point of prohibition, upon any corporation organized in any State that wants to do business outside of the State. I say that Congress has, or should have, power to place upon the corporation

such limitations and restrictions, even to the point of prohibition, as may to Congress seem necessary for the protection of the public.

Let the People's Voice Decide.—Now, I believe that these concurrent remedies will prove effective. To repeat, the people of every State shall first decide whether they want to create a corporation. They shall also decide whether they want any outside corporation to do business in the State; and, if so, upon what conditions; and then Congress shall exercise the right to place upon every corporation doing business outside of the State in which it is organized such limitations and restrictions as may be necessary for the protection of the public.

I do not believe that the people of one State can rely upon the people of another State in the management of corporations. I am ready to adopt any method that anybody can propose that looks to the annihilation of the trusts.

One method has occurred to me, and it seems to me a complete method. It is this: That Congress should pass a law providing that no corporation organized in any State should do business outside of the State in which it is organized until it receives from some power created by Congress a license authorizing it to do business outside of its own State. Now, if the corporation must come to this body created by Congress to secure permission to do business outside of the State, then the license can be granted upon conditions which will, in the first place, prevent the watering of stock; in the second place, prevent monopoly in any branch of business; and, third, provide for publicity as to all of the transactions and business of the corporation.

Amend the Constitution.—If such law be unconstitutional, and it has been so declared by the Supreme Court, I am in favor of an amendment to the Constitution that will give Congress power to destroy every trust in the country. The first condition which I suggest is that no water should be allowed in the stock. I do not agree with those who say it is a matter entirely immaterial whether a corporation has water in its stock or not. It may be true that, in the

long run, if you are able to run as long as the corporation can, the stock will fall to its natural level; but during all that time the harm goes on; during all that time the trust demands the right to collect dividends upon capital represented by no money whatever. I do not believe that any State should permit the organization of a corporation with a single drop of water in the stock of that corporation. The farmer cannot inflate the value of his land by watering the value of that land. The merchant in the store cannot inflate the value of the goods upon his shelves. Why should the corporation be permitted to put out stock that represents no real value?

Why, there are instances where there are $4 of water for $1 of money. No man can defend stock that does not represent money invested, and only in the case of a monopoly can you secure dividends upon stock that does not represent money invested. In my judgment, when you take from monopoly the power to issue stock not represented by money, you will go more than half the way toward destroying monopoly in the United States.

The law should provide for publicity. As has been well said, corporations cannot claim that they have a right, or that it is necessary, to cover their transactions with secrecy, and when you provide for publicity, so that the people can know just what there is in the corporation, just what it is doing, and just what it is making, you will take another long step toward the destruction of monopoly.

To Make Monopoly Impossible.—But I am not willing to stop there. I do not want to go one or two steps; I want to go all the way, and make a monopoly absolutely impossible. And, therefore, as a third condition, I suggest that this license shall not be granted until the corporation shows that it has not had a monopoly and is not attempting a monopoly of any branch of industry or of any article of merchandise—and then provide that, if the law is violated, the license can be revoked. I do not believe in the government giving privileges to be exercised by a corporation without reserving the right

to withdraw them when those privileges have become hurtful to the people.

Now I may be mistaken, but as I have studied the subject it has seemed to me that this method of dealing with the trusts would prove an effective method; but if you once established the system and require the license, then Congress can, from year to year, add such new conditions as may be necessary for the protection of the public from the greed and avarice of great aggregations of wealth. I do not go so far as some do, and say that there shall be no private corporations; but I say this—that a corporation is created by law; that it is created for the public good, and that it should never be permitted to do a thing that is injurious to the public, and that if any corporation enjoys any privileges to-day which are hurtful to the public, those privileges ought to be withdrawn from it. In other words, I am willing that we should first see whether we can preserve the benefits of the corporation and take from it its possibilities for harm.

My contention is that we have been placing the dollar above the man; that we have been picking out favorites and bestowing upon them special privileges, and every advantage we have given them has been given them to the detriment of other people. My contention is that there is a vicious principle running through the various policies which we have been pursuing; that in our taxation we have been imposing upon the great struggling masses the burden of government, while we have been voting the privileges to a few people who will not pay their share of the expenses of the government.

Unjust Tax a Larceny.—Every unjust tax law is an indirect form of larceny. If, for instance, a man who ought to pay $10 only pays $5, and one who ought to pay only $5 pays $10, the law that compels this contribution from these two men virtually takes $5 from one man's pocket and puts that $5 into the other man's pocket, and I have claimed that when we collected our taxes we were making the poor people pay not only their share, but the share of the men whom

they have no chance to meet at the summer resorts. There are some people who have visible property, others who have invisible property, and the visible property is always taxed. The invisible property has too often escaped, and as a result the people owning visible property have not only paid their own taxes, but the taxes that should have been paid by the owners of invisible property. I have advocated an income tax because I believe it the most just tax.

If the government will quit picking out favorites, and follow the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to no man, I have no fear that any man, by his own brain or his own muscle, will be able to secure a fortune so great as to be a menace to the welfare of his fellowmen. If we secure a government whose foundations are laid in justice and laws exemplifying the doctrine of equality before the law—if we can secure such a government and such laws—and wealth is then accumulated to a point where it becomes dangerous, we can meet that question when it arises, and I am willing to trust the wisdom of society to meet every question that arises and remedy every wrong.

The Millionaire a Menace.—As to the multi-millionaires now in existence, I would wait and see whether they would die off soon enough to relieve the country of danger. Life is short. If, however, their accumulations should become a menace, I would then consider what measures would be necessary for the protection of society. And this brings me to what I regard as a very important branch of this subject. Every trust rests upon a corporation—at least, that rule is so nearly universal that I think we can accept it as a basis for legislation. Every trust rests upon a corporation, and every corporation is a creature of law. The corporation is a man-made man.

When God made man as the climax of creation, he looked upon his work and said that it was good, and yet when God finished His work the tallest man was not much taller than the shortest, and the strongest man was not much stronger than the weakest. That was

God's plan. We looked upon His work and said that it was not quite as good as it might be, and so we made a fictitious person called a corporation, that is in some instances a hundred times, a thousand times, a million times stronger than the God-made man. Then we started this man-made giant out among the God-made men. When God made man He placed a limit to his existence, so that if he was a bad man he could not do harm long; but when we made our man-made man, we raised the limit as to age. In some States a corporation is given perpetual life.

When God made man He breathed into him a soul, and warned him that in the next world he would be held accountable for the deeds done in the flesh; but when we made our man-made man we did not give him a soul, and if he can avoid punishment in this world, he need not worry about the hereafter.

The Right of Government to Control.—My contention is that the government that created must retain control, and that the man-made man must be admonished: "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth," and throughout thy entire life.

Let me call your attention again to this distinction. We are not dealing with the natural man; we are not dealing with natural rights. We are dealing with the man-made man and artificial privileges. What government gives the government can take away. What the government creates it can control, and I insist that both the State government and the Federal government must protect the God-made man from the man-made man.

I have faith that these questions will be settled, and settled right, but I want to protest against this doctrine that the trust is a natural outgrowth of natural laws. It is not true. The trust is the natural outgrowth of unnatural conditions created by man-made laws. There are some who would defend everything, good or bad, on the ground that it is destiny and that you cannot inquire into it. The fact that it is proves that it is right; the fact that it is proves that it has come

to stay, and the argument most frequently made in defence of a vicious system is, not that it is right and ought to stay, but that it has come to stay whether you like it or not. I say that that is the argument that is usually advanced in behalf of an error—it is here; it has come to stay—what are you going to do about it?

All Evil Is Remediable.—I believe that, in a civilized society, the question is not what is but what ought to be, and that every proposition must be arraigned at the bar of reason. If you can prove that a thing is good, let it stay; but if you cannot prove that it is good, you cannot hide behind the assertion that it is here and that you cannot get rid of it. I believe that the American people can get rid of anything that they do not want—and that they ought to get rid of everything that is not good. I believe that it is the duty of every citizen to give to his countrymen the benefit of his conscience and his judgment, and cast his influence, be it small or great, upon the right side of every question that arises. In the determination of questions we should find out what will make our people great and good and strong rather than what will make them rich. "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." Shall we decide the ethics of larceny by discussing how much the man is going to steal or the chances of his getting caught? No, my friends, we must decide questions upon a higher ground, and if you were to prove to me that a monopoly would reduce the price of the articles that we have to purchase, I would still be opposed to it for a reason which, to my mind, overshadows all pecuniary arguments. The reason is this: Put the industrial system of this nation in the hands of a few men, and let them determine the price of raw material, the price of the finished product, and the wages paid to labor, and you will have an industrial aristocracy beside which a landed aristocracy would be an innocent thing.

Principles of the Declaration Violated.—I may be in error, but in my judgment a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, will be impossible when a few men control all the sources of

production and dole out daily bread to all the rest on such terms as the few may prescribe. I believe that this nation is the hope of the world. I believe that the Declaration of Independence was the grandest document ever penned by human hands. The truths of that declaration are condensed into four great propositions: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to preserve those rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Such a government is impossible under an industrial aristocracy. Place the food and clothing, all that we eat and wear and use, in the hands of a few people, and instead of being a government of the people it will be a government of the syndicates, by the syndicates, and for the syndicates. Establish such a government, and the people will soon be powerless to secure a legislative remedy for any abuse. Establish such a system, and on the night before election the employes will be notified not to come back on the day after election unless the trusts' candidate is successful. Establish such a government, and instead of giving the right of suffrage to the people, you will virtually give the right of suffrage to the heads of monopolies, with each man empowered to vote as many times as he has employes. I am not willing to place the laboring men of this country absolutely at the mercy of the heads of monopolies. I am not willing to place the men who produce the raw material absolutely in the hands of the monopolies, because when you control the price that a man is to receive for what he produces you control the price that he is to receive for his labor in the production of that thing.

The farmer has no wages except as wages are measured by the price of his product, and when you place it in the power of the trust to fix the price of what the farmer sells, you place it in the power of the trust to lower the wages that the farmer receives for his work, and when you place it in the power of the trust to raise the price of what he buys, you do the farmer a double injury, because he

burns the candle at both ends and suffers when he sells to the trust and again when he buys of the trust.

All Labor on an Equality.—Some people have tried to separate the laboring man who works in the factory from the laboring man who works on the farm. I want to warn the laboring men in the factories that they cannot separate themselves from those who toil on the farm without inviting their own destruction. I beg the laboring men in the factories not to join the monopolies to crush the farmer, for as soon as the farmer is crushed the laboring man will be crushed, and in a test of endurance the farmer will stand it longer than the laboring man.

I come from an agricultural State—one of the great agricultural States of this nation—and I want to say to you that while our people are, I believe, a unit against the trusts, we can stand the trusts longer than the laboring man can; we can stand all the vicious policies of government longer than the laboring man can. The farmer was the first man on the scene when civilization began, and he will be the last one to disappear. The farmer wants to own his home; he ought to own it. I think that this nation is safer the larger the proportion of home-owners. I want every man with a family to own his home; the farmer wants to own his home, but if you will not allow him to own his home, he can rent. He will have to be employed to work the farm.

Take his farm from him by mortgage if you like, but the man who forecloses the mortgage and buys the property will not work the farm. He will need the farmer to work for him, and he will have to give the farmer enough to live on or the farmer cannot work. When prices fall so low that the farmer cannot buy coal, he can burn corn. But when prices fall so low that the coal miner cannot buy corn, he cannot eat coal. You can drive the farmer down so that he cannot buy factory-made goods, but his wife can do like the wife of old—make the clothing for the family off of the farm; but when you close

your factories it will take all of the accumulated wealth of the cities to feed the people brought to the point of starvation by vicious, greedy, avaricious legislation.

A Union of Effort for Public Good.—But why should we try to see who can hold out the longest in suffering? Why try to see who can endure the most hardships and yet live? Why not try to see who can contribute most to the greatness and to the glory and to the prosperity of this nation? Why not vie with each other to see who can contribute most to make this government what the fathers intended it to be? For one hundred years this nation has been the light of the world. For one hundred years the struggling people of all nations have looked to this nation for hope and inspiration. Let us settle these great questions; let us teach the world the blessing of a government that comes from the people; let us show them how happy and how prosperous people can be. God made all men, and He did not make some to crawl on hands and knees and others to ride upon their backs. Let us show what can be done when we put into actual practice the great principles of human equality and of equal rights. Then this nation will fulfill its holy mission, and lead the other nations step by step in the progress of the human race toward a higher civilization.

OUR CURRENCY AND BUSINESS NEEDS.

BY HON. LYMAN J. GAGE,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Thomas Benton left behind him a valuable record of his political experience in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate." Mr. Blaine did a similar work in his "Twenty Years in Congress." The memoirs of Generals Grant and Sherman give to us the story of varied movements by contesting armies upon many bloody battlefields. But no one to my knowledge has recorded with any fidelity the dramatic movements to which by outward influences the life of the business man has been subjected since the year 1865 or 1870. The business man, I know, is nowhere regarded as a hero or statesman. He neither makes laws nor conducts military campaigns. He is so common a factor in the operations of ordinary life that he fails to attract the public eye. Nevertheless, within the range of his activities the wisdom of the statesman and the courage of the war leader are often required of him. If he cannot make law he must always be on the alert to watch the laws that are made. If such laws touch upon the field of economics he must anticipate their action and adjust to their operation and anticipated effects. If he cannot direct the movement of armies and win at once victory and fame, he must be quick to know the commercial effect of battles, sieges and long-drawn campaigns. The last thirty years have been to him a period of dangerous vicissitudes and peculiar trials.

Money Which Had Only Local Value.—In the year 1870 all business affairs were carried on in the United States with a medium of exchange entirely dislocated from the world's money standard. Prices of all commodities, wares and labor service were stated in terms of an irredeemable currency. All time accounts were payable in the same

money. And yet in itself that money was no true measure of the values which it served to transfer. Every commodity having in any of its parts or as a whole a value in foreign markets was really measured by its price in gold in the world's market. The value of the "greenback" was itself related to gold, and upon the unsettled sea of the public credit the value of our domestic money rose and fell. Goods or manufactures sold one day at an apparent profit on their previous cost could not on the day or the week following be replaced with the amount received in payment.

Have you ever studied the oscillations in value of that instrument of exchange by which, perforce, all our domestic trade and commerce was conducted? Let us glance at the records. On January 1, 1862, the greenback was worth one hundred cents in gold. In twelve months it fell 31 per cent. The next seven months it advanced 15 per cent on its previous price. The next five months afterward it fell 18 per cent. Then in six months more it fell 40 per cent. In the next six months it advanced 20 per cent. Then in six months more it fell 40 per cent. The next six months it advanced 52 per cent. In the next twelve months it fell 6 per cent. The next six months it rose 13 per cent. Then it rose 10 per cent in three years—that is, for January, 1870, it stood at 82.4. It then in two years rose 11 per cent. In January, 1875, it was rated as worth 89.9. From that year, when the Resumption Act was passed, the oscillations were less marked, a range of from five to seven per cent per annum, with a general upward movement to January 1, 1879, when once more one dollar in greenbacks would command one dollar in gold.

While I have noted these fluctuations by convenient periods, it must not be forgotten that each and every day between the periods there were minor but constant fluctuations. With what certainty of direction could the mariner sail his ship if the compass by which he reckoned was subject to such lawless aberrations? At noon each day he could determine by the sun how far he was off his course, but this

would always be after the fact. It would not help his calculations for the morrow. No wonder men mistook loss for profit and profit for loss.

Evils of a Credit System.—Under such conditions trade degenerated into mere speculation. Every fall in the value of the money was at once expressed, or ought to have been expressed, by a rise in the price of commodities. Those who bought most largely on credit and made the fewest sales realized profits in excess of the legitimate and careful trader, who had a conscience about credit, and who believed it was the business of a merchant to distribute his wares. Inventories showed wealth in figures. They encouraged extravagance, but in many cases the wealth in figures became the father of bankruptcy in fact. By the year 1873 the bitter fruits of the artificial condition appeared. The simulacrum of prosperity was dissolved. The system of credits, extended and enlarged by years of rising prices, fell into ruin. Merchants, manufacturers, bankers and transportation lines one after another shared a common fate.

Looking backward it now appears a strange coincidence that in that same year, 1873, a piece of legislation should have been inaugurated which was in after years to save the country from a repetition of the injurious effects of a rapidly depreciating money. In that year the coinage laws were revised, and with no comprehension of the great economic consequences involved in it the unit of value was made to consist of gold, while the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage.

Great efforts have been made to prove that this action was the result of a wicked scheme of the money power. However wicked the money power may be, it does not deserve credit for omniscience, and omniscience alone could have forseen that the commercial value of the silver dollar, then greater than its yellow brother, gold, would steadily decline to a fraction of its then equivalent. Whether this legislative act was purely fortuitous, or whether it was a providential interposition, as a critical period in our national life, the event was one of far-reaching importance. Had it not occurred as it did, and when

it did, there is no room whatever to doubt that after climbing the hill to specie payments in 1879, we should have repeated, through the effect of silver as our standard money, the losses and crosses which marked the depreciation of our paper money from 1864 to 1879. It is very certain that if the coinage act of 1873 had been delayed five years, or even three years, it would never have been adopted.

Free Coinage a Business Menace.—The proof lies in the frantic efforts of a powerful party to secure a repeal of that act. The effort began in 1878, when silver had already fallen in price. That effort has not been relaxed to this day, though faith in its success is giving way. Notwithstanding the failure to secure the free coinage at our mints, at the old ratio of 16 to 1, the effort to achieve that result has been, until a recent period, a most disturbing influence upon business affairs. The legislative struggle for free coinage began in 1878. Though unsuccessful, it forced injurious compromises. The Bland Act of 1878 required the purchase and coinage by the government of $2,000,000 in silver per month. The so-called Sherman Act of 1890 required the purchase of not less than 4,500,000 ounces per month. The total effect of these doings was to force into the channels of circulation something more than $500,000,000, nominal value, in money, the real value of which in the world's market is now less than one-half of that sum. The great loss involved in the transaction has been assumed by the government, as it ought to have been, since it is right that the risk and burden of a public folly should be distributed over all the people.

During the long period from 1878 to 1893, when the act was repealed, there was constant fear that our finances would degenerate to what is popularly called the silver basis. This fear intimidated capital, restricted enterprise and gave to all engaged in business activities a a sense of doubt and apprehension.

The Panic of 1893.—In 1893, when the repeal of the Sherman law hung in the balances, the fear culminated in the most destructive panic in our history. It may not be just to ascribe that business

reaction to the silver question alone. Depression and reaction will come as the natural result of overtrading, speculation and injudicious credit. These causes no doubt co-operated to produce the panic of 1893, but they are intensely aggravated by the silver question, so-called, The year 1896 witnessed in a milder form the commercial experience of 1893, and it is not unjust to charge the perturbation of 1896 to the fear that a revolution in our standard money was at hand.

I have pointed out the disturbing and injurious effect of a depreciated paper money. It will be seen that a depreciated metallic money would have been scarcely less injurious. I will pass by any consideration of the shock and loss of the change from the gold to the silver standard and refer only to the fluctuations in silver as measured by the world's money, gold, during the years 1873 to 1893. In 1873 the silver in a silver dollar would buy in the market one dollar and one and six-tenths cents in gold. In 1878 the silver in a silver dollar would but buy 89.2 cents in gold. In 1883 it would buy 85.8; in 1888, 72.7; in 1893, 60.4, and in 1896 the silver in a silver dollar could buy but 45.6 cents in gold. Between these dates there were continuous oscillations in relative value up and down between silver and gold. The range of fluctuation was much more limited than that experienced with our irredeemable paper, but was violent enough to cause a constant and deeply injurious derangement to trade and industry.

Constantly in peril, our domestic money of account has nevertheless been steadily maintained by the public credit on an even parity with the world standard, gold. The act of Congress, which, by the approval of the President, became the law on March 14, 1900, sets at rest this disturbing question of the standard. Unless the credit of the government shall utterly fail, the assurance is absolute that for at least six years we are safe from change. The business man may now know that his goods, sold on four months' credit, will be paid for in money equal in value to that represented in the goods sold. The foundation of credit and commerce is at last secure. All our kinds of money

are equal in value with one another, and all alike are as good as gold.

The Deranging Effects of Tariff Changes.—In addition to the disconcerting influences already referred to, it is proper to put some emphasis upon the deranging effect of tariff changes. Of these, during the thirty-year period, there have been several of a radical character. I cannot speak of them at length, nor will I undertake to discuss the economic theories by which the more radical changes have been justified in the opinion of the political power which inaugurated them. Whether meritorious in fact and ultimately of general benefit, every such change in the cause of economic disturbance to the commercial and industrial status quo. They give at least great temporary advantage to the few at the cost and loss of the many.

There were several modifications and revisions in the war tariff between the years 1862 and 1876. These modifications occurred in the years 1864, 1865, 1867, 1870, 1872 and 1875. In 1883 there was a general revision of the tariff laws which carried a considerable reduction in the rates of duty. Seven years after—1890—radical changes were made by which duties were largely increased. Again, in 1894, what was known as the Wilson Act worked a large reduction in the average rates of the McKinley tariff. Four years after, the Dingley Act of 1898 took the place of the Wilson Act, and the rates therein established now continue to be the law.

Panics of Recent Years.—I cannot stop to more than suggest the several periods during the last thirty years, when sudden derangements have occurred from causes outside of those enumerated. In 1871 the Chicago fire destroyed $200,000,000 of existing capital. Through the beneficence of insurance, and by reason of a wide-spreading network of relationship through credit and otherwise, the strain of the loss was widely distributed. Yet it brought financial ruin to thousands. In 1884 the failure of a great bank in New York caused a forced liquidation, which involved serious losses to many. In 1890 the

Barings, in London, suspended payment, with liabilities of $150,000,000. While the shock of this disaster was much softened by the courageous action of the Bank of England and its associates, the depressing effect of the failure on industrial undertakings was felt throughout the civilized world.

In 1894, when our domestic business life was fairly emerging from the dark days which followed 1893, the Venezuela message brought us suddenly face to face with the possibilities of war with our best customer. Politically considered, the message may have been justified; I am not considering that question. I think it, however, safe to affirm that economically looked at it was a severe blow to reviving industry. It developed a new crisis in commercial affairs and seriously impeded the revival of business.

In 1898 we faced the actualities of war with all its possibilities of cost in treasure and loss in precious lives. Again was the man of business affairs and responsibilities compelled to forecast contingencies and consequences, which it required the gift of foreknowledge to properly comprehend.

Marvelous Increase and Prosperity.—Since 1870 the population has increased substantially 100 per cent. In the same time our annual expenditures in the cause of public education have increased 227 per cent. The number of newspapers and periodicals, 261 per cent. The number of post offices, 163 per cent. The receipts of the Post Office Department, although postal rates have been lowered, were 380 per cent greater last year than in 1870. The number of telegrams showed an increase of 739 per cent. The miles of railroad operated in 1870 were 52,822; in 1899 they were 186,810, an increase of 253 per cent. The increase in tons of freight carried one mile shows an increase in twenty years of 192 per cent; we have no data prior to 1880; while the freight rate per ton per mile fell 61 per cent. While in general the vessel tonnage shows no gain, but a serious decline, it is notable that the tonnage by water through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal increased 3000

per cent. In agriculture, wheat and corn have not much increased beyond the ratio of increase in population. The diversity of products has greatly increased. In cotton during the thirty years there has been an increase of 300 per cent, while population was increased 100 per cent.

Our growth in manufacturing has some remarkable illustrations. Our own cotton mills in 1870 used 857,000 bales. In 1899 they consumed 3,632,000 bales, an increase of 324 per cent. In 1870 we converted 583,000 pounds of raw silk into finished products. In 1899 we used 11,236,000 pounds, an increase of 1,825 per cent. We used in manufactures last year 42,000,000 more pounds of crude rubber than in 1870, a growth of 431 per cent. The production of pig iron shows an increase of 607 per cent. The manufacture of steel grew from less than 69,000 in 1870 to nearly 13,000,000 tons in 1899, an increase of 12,893 per cent. For the same period the production of coal grew from 33,000,000 tons to 196,000,000 tons, an increase of 498 per cent. The production of petroleum increased from 185,000,000 gallons in 1870 to 2,000,325,000 gallons in 1898—a growth of 1,100 per cent. The development of our manufacturing interests is best indicated, perhaps, by the increase in our export of manufactures. They increased from a valuation of $68,000,000 in 1870 to $338,000,000 in 1899, or 396 per cent. Taking our foreign commerce as a whole, we have an export value in 1870 of $392,000,000, against $1,227,000,000 in 1899—an increase of 212 per cent, while during the same periods our imports increased but 60 per cent. Taken as a whole, for the four-year period, 1895 to 1899, the value of our exports was $1,534,000,000 in excess of our imports.

Domestic Trade Gains.—Our internal domestic trade has shared in a similar development. The total freight carried one mile in 1898 exceeded the amount carried in 1895 by 26,000,000,000 tons. This increase required the use of 300 trains, each loaded to the extent of 1,000 tons, running continuously twenty-four hours each day through

the entire year. But I will not burden you with further illustrations of our great development. The facts submitted are startling in their nature, and full of encouragement for the future. They prove the truth of the somewhat hackneyed phrase, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." These triumphs of peace have been gained, as I have shown, amid many depressing influences. What might they not have been as the result of these years since 1860 could peace have prevailed, could the aberrations and vicissitudes caused by a bad money system have been avoided? We need not, however, repine. We front the future well equipped with all the instruments of productivity. We have no complications with any foreign power, threatening our peace or disturbing our commerce. The tokens of industrial prosperity appear on every hand. The revenues of the government are more than sufficient for all public requirements. The credit of the commercial community is such as to give a sense of freedom and security to commercial activities. Are we, therefore, safe in the future from the injurious influences which have disturbed the past? It would be gratifying to answer that question in the affirmative, but it cannot be so answered.

Questions Which Remain to Be Settled.—The problems of life never cease. Old errors are resurrected and, clothed in new garb, afflict society until again laid to rest. Changing conditions also beget new problems. Prejudice and a lack of knowledge obscure the way. Some of these problems are immediately before us. The labor question, transportation, combinations of capital, are the names of those most prominent. In the field of production and exchange economic principles must be recognized and obeyed. Majority votes cannot alter them. To carefully study these principles with an earnest desire to know the truth concerning them, to employ all energy in making it known among all the people are duties resting with solemn force upon the business men of America. They are duties which apathy and indifference will seek to avoid, but which patriotism and courage will gladly assume.

OUR NEED OF A MERCHANT MARINE.

BY HON. GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

In my long service in the United States Senate I favored the taking of measures to bring back the carrying trade into our own hands, and by that means to increase the exportation and sale of all the abundant productions of our country, beginning with the farm, the mine and the forest, and running through all our manufacturing industries to the very last and finest fabrications that, from the crude material, have gone through the hands of thousands of different workmen and have increased in value a thousand fold.

It is this working up of the raw material and selling the final product that produces national prosperity and wealth, which means the gain and saving of the men and women, from the first to the last, who contribute to or do the work. The factory can do nothing without the first and essential aid of the farm, the mine and the forest. The workmen can do nothing without the mills, tools and other appliances of all sorts, nor without fair and prompt pay. They must support themselves and their families in comfort and educate their children. Their employers cannot pay them unless they can find markets for and sell their goods so made. Therefore the more extensive and varied the markets the greater is the opportunity for all these co-operative works to go on successfully. All this is self-evident, but, like other self-evident truths, it cannot be stated too often, for on it depends the whole co-operative life and happiness of the nation.

Community of Common Interest.—Thus it is manifest that every occupation and every accumulation of capital in our country have a common interest in promoting the increase of our export trade. How, then, can this be best done? The producing and commercial classes

of other nations know and have known for a long time how they can achieve best these large ends for themselves; they and their governments know that the only effectual way is to have the means of transportation their own and always in their own control, in peace and in war. They know that in time of peace the flag of their own country at the masthead is a constant guarantee of safety and respect, and also that it is a continual and free advertisement of the goods their ships carry as the production of their country.

No farmer, if he could help it, would send his product to even the nearest market by the wagon of his neighboring farmer, or any other conveyance whose owner had the same sort of things to sell; he knows that if he would find the best customers and get the best prices he must run his own wagon, or control his own means of transportation. The farmer, the miner, the manufacturer and the merchant, each and all are in the same case. In our own country and among themselves they know this perfectly well and act upon it as best they can.

Any man, any nation or any country that trusts his or its competitors to do any part of his business is sure to fail in the end. All farmers, all miners, all the manufacturers and all the merchants, etc., make up the famly of the nation, for a nation is nothing else than a union of all these really co-operating families. Just like a single personal family, they must co-operate or else the family will grow poor in comparison with the neighboring family, of which all the members try to help each other.

What, then, are we to do in order to restore in common to all our people the full and best benefits of trade in those foreign markets which may need our produce and manufactured articles of all kinds? That our means of communication and transportation are chiefly necessary the experience of centuries among all nations has proved true. A single illustration among scores that might be referred to of this truth may be stated. It appears in British history that our forefathers in the colonies had become "the carriers for all the colonies of

North America and the West Indies," and that, as a consequence, the British home manufactures, as well as those of the Dutch, etc., were being pushed out of the markets, and the produce and manufactures of our colonies carried in. So measures were taken by the British King and the British Parliament to grant monopolies to British companies to trade in the West Indies.

Advantage of Having Our Own Ships.—It may be stated briefly that the nation which has the quickest and best means of communication, under its own flag and authority, with other nations will surely have the best share of foreign trade.

As I have said, the flag of a country at the masthead of its ships is a great advertisement of the productions it has to sell, just as in every town of our country the name of the producer, the manufacturer and the merchant on his wagon that delivers his goods is.

There are only four possible ways of reaching the end of putting our country for all its people on a fair footing with other countries in the respect before mentioned.

First.—Discriminating duties.

This method, in view of our treaties with many other nations, it would take a long time to put into operation—so long that the trade would become still more firmly established in the hands of our competitors, and, if adopted, would be likely to lead to countervailing discriminations by other governments. Recent experience has also shown that very powerful, and, perhaps, controlling influences would very likely be able to prevent the adoption of discriminating duties, even in the cases where no treaty obligation stands in the way.

Second.—It has been suggested that a bounty on the exportation in foreign as well as American vessels of the products of the farm, such as wheat and corn, etc., should be provided for by Congress. Such a scheme, I think, would prove wholly illusory.

In the first place the producer, whose crop goes through the hands of the middlemen and the shippers, will surely find that he gets no

more for his crop than he would without the bounty, and that the middleman, the shipper and the foreign market agent have taken all the bounty, and that the Treasury of the United States, which is his treasury, has been exhausted to that extent with no good to him.

No Bounty Should Be Given.—In the second place it is perfectly plain that no law can be passed to give this bounty. The producers, the manufacturers and the laborers are all co-operative parts of the whole national family, and no class can or ought to be favored without the other. But it may be answered that we have given bounties to the fisheries and to the producers of sugar. So we have.

As to fisheries, the bounties were given because we must have for national defence a portion of our citizens always taught and skillful in ships and the work of the sea, so that our navies might find the men ready to carry our flag on to victory, as at Manila and at Santiago, and in other like emergencies that for the present age are likely to come to every nation.

As to the sugar bounty of a few years ago, it was given in order, if possible, to diminish the enormous drain on the earnings of our own people in buying foreign-grown sugar.

If, for example, only one-tenth of the wheat, corn and pork consumed in the United States were produced in our country, nearly every citizen would favor any law tending to increase home production. Happily for us, our farms, mines, forests and manufactured products do not in general fall into these classes. All are abundant, and in every part of our country almost all things necessary to the comfort of our people can be produced, and thus every interest is reciprocally common with every other. A bounty, therefore, on the exportation of the particular products of one kind of industry would be an invidious distinction against all others.

Third.—Postal subsidies have been suggested as an adequate means to aid in the restoration of American shipping. Such subsidies are undoubtedly useful, as other nations have found, but they are

only useful, or, indeed, possible as auxiliary aids to merchant vessels carrying cargoes, and except on great and established lines of transportation, it would be absolutely impossible to give postal subsidies sufficient to enable the vessels to run.

A Real Remedy Proposed.—Fourth.—The only other method to the great national end that almost everybody professes to be for is the one substantially contained in the measure proposed in the last Congress. The measure has been so much misunderstood by some of those citizens who wish to increase our shipping interests, and so misrepresented by those who, from whatever motive, desire to prevent anything being done, that it is proper to state concisely what the fundamental features of the measure were.

1. It provided for the systematic payment, limited to a definite period of time, of sufficient compensation, and only a sufficient one, to American vessels sailing to and from foreign ports, in order to enable them to perform the voyage with a fairly full cargo of American products and returning with a fairly full cargo of imports. Without the cargoes the ship owners could not afford to make the voyages and thus get the compensation. The effect, therefore, would be to help American cargoes in American ships to every foreign port where such cargoes could possibly be disposed of, and thus open to American trade in ports where American vessels are now almost never seen, and where a very few American products are now sold, as well as to increase our trade in ports and countries where we already have some trade carried on in foreign ships and always under the influence of foreign prejudice and foreign competition.

A Bounty Which Everyone May Compete For.—2. This first and main proposition made the business and the compensation open to every American shipbuilder, to every American ship owner and to every American industry. There could be no trusts, pools or syndicates, inasmuch as the sea is open to all, and a single ship with its cargo would be absolutely free and independent. No line or com-

bination could be favored, as they must usually be and almost always are when subsidies are given to particular lines for carrying the mails, etc., etc.

The treasury was guarded by the fact above stated that the vessels could not run without a paying cargo, for the compensation was so small that the cargo was indispensable to the profits of the voyage, and the sending of the cargoes is the very thing the people of the United States need to accomplish.

4. The bill required that the ships built and used for this purpose should be capable of naval use in time of need and could be taken at any time by the United States for this purpose.

5. The bill also provided for these vessels taking and educating a certain number of American boys in the various branches of seamanship, so that if the vessels should be able to operate with the aid provided there would always be a large and increasing number of Americans who would be able in time of need to defend the interests of the country.

6. The bill also provided that these vessels should carry the mails of the United States, whenever required, free of charge, and thus direct communication by postal facilities would be established to every port where these compensated vessels should go.

7. The bill also provided that no arrangement should be made under it after ten years from the passage of the act, and it also provided for various and exhaustive limitations and safeguards in the interest of the public service.

The foregoing is, in substance, a statement of the main and important features of the scheme. If we are really in earnest in wishing to take measures to increase our foreign trade and dispose of the vast and increasing amount of our surplus products by having the whole business, so far as possible, in our own hands, protected and advertised by our own flag, and put ourselves in a strong and undisturbed position in case of war between the powers that now possess

the chief carrying trade of the globe, and if we wish to do it in such a way as to help all citizens alike, without favoritism and partiality, I know of no means so sure to accomplish it as the scheme above described.

The state of commercial competition for foreign markets between the producing and manufacturing nations is growing more and more intense, and if anything is to be done to put the United States on a secure footing it should be done quickly. Other nations are perfectly right in taking every peaceable means to increase the markets for the sale of the productions of their citizens, but while our carrying trade remains in the hands of other nations our export trade will always be at a disadvantage, and in case of war between any of the principal powers would be in danger of being injuriously broken up or obstructed unless we shall have our own ships and our own flag to carry it on and protect it.

AN INTEROCEANIC CANAL.

BY HON. WILLIAM P. HEPBURN,
Member of Congress, Iowa.

The subject of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans is one that for more than half a century has engaged the attention of the American people. The desire for its construction seems to grow with the increase of our population, the development of our capacity of production, and the necessity for the expansion of our commerce.

All of the great political parties of the country have demanded this waterway. Boards of trade, chambers of commerce, state legislatures, and the American press have with marked unanimity spoken in favor of the early completion of this canal, and at various periods it has received the serious attention of the government.

There seems to be but little doubt that the states of Nicaragua and Costa Rica will give their consent for the construction of this great work. These states are friendly disposed toward our government and our people, and have interests connected with it that are, in proportion to wealth and population, even greater than ours. It will traverse either the border or the interior of Nicaragua for a distance of about one hundred and ninety miles. It will give to that state a waterway from its capital and its most productive region to the sea. It will place that country on one of the great waterways of the world, bringing it into immediate contact with a large foreign commerce and those who conduct it. The splendid soil and climate of their agricultural region will be seen and known in such a way as to compel immigration, settlement, and largely increased production. In very many ways the state will have advantages not now possessed and

that will be for a long time lost if another route by which the oceans are connected should be adopted. All of these considerations induce the belief that these two enlightened states will be glad to aid our government cordially and efficiently in carrying out this great design.

First Efforts to Build the Canal.—The practicability of this work is a question that has been thoroughly studied. As early as 1850 Colonel O. W. Childs, an eminent civil engineer, surveyed and located a canal route from Lake Nicaragua to the Pacific Ocean. He also made careful examination of the eastern division, extending from the lake to the mouth of the San Juan River. He reported the route to be practicable within the limits of reasonable cost.

Twenty-two years later a careful survey of the whole route was made by Commander Lull, of the United States Navy. His competency as an engineer is vouched for by his contemporaries. He spent much time in a patient investigation of the subject. He reported that the enterprise was feasible. Later Mr. A. G. Menocal, a naval engineer who is highly endorsed as reliable and competent, under the direction of the Maritime Canal Company, made very elaborate surveys of a route from Greytown to Brito, and he established a line and made estimates of its cost. These surveys and estimates were submitted to a board of five practical engineers occupying high places in their profession in this country. His plans met with their hearty approval and were pronounced by them to be eminently practicable.

In 1895, under the authority of Congress, the President appointed a commission of which Lieutenant-Colonel, now Brigadier-General, Ludlow, United States Army, was president. Rear-Admiral Endicott, United States Navy, and Mr. Noble, a civil engineer of great experience and high repute, were the other members. This commission spent many months in personal examinations of the route, in making additional surveys, and in studying the surveys and plans made by others. Their careful studies resulted in the opinion that the enterprise of constructing the canal from an engineering standpoint was feasible.

Two years ago still another commission was appointed by the President consisting of Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, United States Navy, Colonel Peter C. Haines, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and Professor Lewis N. Haupt. This commission also spent many months along the line of the projected canal and in the study of the reports and surveys made by their predecessors. They also added very largely to the surveys theretofore made. They examined the work in all of its aspects, studying the conditions of the country, its precipitation, its geological formation, its liability to seismic disturbances, the labor supply, the cost of materials, and all of the questions suggested to prudent inquiry.

Practicability of Constructing.—Their report in all of its ample details has just been laid before us, together with the reports of a large number of scientists and skilled engineers called to their aid. All agree that the canal can be constructed with all of its appurtenances within reasonable limits of cost. These reports above referred to, the opinions of the engineers and scientists believed to be entirely competent for their work, justify us in recommending the undertaking of the enterprise as one that is entirely practicable, and that can be completed for a sum of money the expenditure of which will be wise.

It is true that the estimates of costs are variable, ranging as they do from less than $40,000,000 to a possible $145,000,000. It is, however, proper to say that the size and character of the canal estimated for is as variable as is the cost. The earlier estimates were for a canal suited to ships of the times. The later estimates are for ships of this time. Fifteen feet depth and 50 feet width was the size of the earlier project. Thirty feet depth and 150 feet width are the dimensions of the later proposed canal.

Of course an estimate for construction of a work like this in a tropical region, with excessive rainfall, in a sparsely settled country, destitute in a large degree of the necessary materials, must be more or less speculative. Much the larger portion of the unskilled labor will

have to be imported, which is also true of all of the skilled labor. Some of the streams that have to be dammed or diverted are torrential in character and in some instances drain large areas. Along the eastern coast the rainfall is nearly three hundred inches, and near the lake is nearly one hundred inches. These considerations greatly increase the labor of making reliable estimates, but it is believed that the addition of 50 per cent to the Chicago prices for construction in the eastern division and 33⅓ per cent to the Chicago prices in the western division, with 20 per cent added, or $118,113,700 in all, will be more than enough to cover the total cost of the canal.

Its Benefits to Shipping.—In discussing the cash remuneration that will come to the United States from the ownership of this canal, estimates only can be made, and there has been great difference of opinion expressed by persons and writers on this subject, as to the extent of the use that would be made of the canal by the shipping of the world. One gentlemen has said that in his judgment not more than 300,000 tons would pass through the canal annually. Another has said that 11,000,000 tons would pass through the canal. Gentlemen connected with the Maritime Canal Company gave it as their opinion that 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of tonnage would be the amount that would pass through the canal annually.

Of course we have a right to assume that whatever the amount be, it would be an increasing amount from year to year. At present $1.55 per ton is the toll charged for the use of the Suez Canal. If that rate was the rate charged at the Nicaragua Canal, and 4,000,000 be the tonnage passing through it, an aggregate sum of more than $6,000,000 would be the receipts. It is estimated that the cost of maintaining and operating the canal would be $1,000,000 annually. If the United States borrowed money to invest in the enterprise, this sum would pay the annual interest, the cost of maintaining and operating, and leave a surplus of more than $1,000,000. And with the increasing tonnage we might reasonably hope for such accumulations

of surplus as would in a few years fully reimburse the government for its outlay. Or if it should be the policy to use the canal to stimulate the building up of our merchant marine, it could be made a most powerful factor.

The Great Savings Accomplished.—A British merchant trading from any port in Great Britain to Hongkong, chartering a 6,000 ton vessel and using the Suez Canal, must pay as tolls a sum in excess of $18,000 for the round voyage. His American rival trading from New York to Hongkong, using the Nicaragua Canal free of toll because he used a vessel made in an American shipyard, out of American material, and by American labor, and loaded with American merchandise, would possess marked advantages—advantages so marked as to make it to his interest to stimulate American shipbuilding.

It is this kind of a canal, that may be used in this way—discriminating in favor of our merchants and our shipbuilders, and our labor (if such should be the policy of the government)—that we are anxious to secure.

We are aware that there are a number of persons who claim to have concessions from the governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica investing them with rights to navigate the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua. Others claim to be authorized to construct this great waterway connecting the oceans. But it is believed by your committee that these rights have either lapsed or are of inconsiderable value, or have been obtained for speculative purposes. However this may be, it should be the purpose of the government to deal directly with the governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Those governments can adjust all questions growing out of these concessions much more easily than the United States. It is not believed that any one of these real or alleged concessionnaires has any rights or interests that he can convey to the United States; and it is not deemed wise to have any joint interest or interests or copartnership, or any interest growing out of corporate relations with any of these persons. It is our opinion that

the people of the United States want a government canal, one that will be completely under the control of the United States.

No Infringement of Foreign Rights.—It is claimed by some persons that creating this short passage to our Pacific possessions would be an invasion of the rights of other maritime nations; that connecting the waters of two oceans is a matter of such vast concern that it becomes international in its character. But we think the people of no other country would have a right to object if the people of the United States saw fit to construct a ship canal from New York to San Francisco on the territory belonging solely to the United States. Nor would the people of any other country have the right to object if Mexico on her own territory constructed a canal across the isthmus of Tehauntepec. Nor yet again could any one rightfully object to Nicaragua constructing a canal on her own soil from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. Now, if this be true, if these states would have the right on their own territory, using their own means to provide for themselves this great advantage to their commerce, could not either one of them grant to another state upon terms entirely advantageous and satisfactory to the parties the right to construct a canal similar to the one under discussion?

No one would have the right to quarrel with Nicaragua in thus disposing to the United States of a right which unquestionably belongs to her. The fact that it would enable us in an emergency and in certain directions to increase the efficiency of our navy, does not constitute such a state of facts as would allow our rivals to object to our building this canal. Other nations are now making large additions to their naval power by the use of their shipyards. We certainly possess the right to increase the efficiency of our navy by increasing the number of our ships. When we have the ships we have the right to send them wherever we choose; and the mere fact that by the rapid transfer through the Nicaragua Canal of our naval vessels to the Pacific, or from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic, thus increasing the efficiency

of a given squadron, surely ought not to be regarded as an undue advantage that the United States would have through this waterway.

America Must Look to Her Interests.—We want to increase our power upon the high seas. Our people are intent upon having their full share of the commerce of the world. This canal is an aid in that direction. It is true that it will disturb the conditions of equality that now exist, but every effort that the successful merchant makes is an effort to disturb this equality, and to secure advantages for himself. Steamships instead of sailing vessels; the huge vessels of to-day instead of the smaller ones of fifty years ago; improvements in machinery, in manufacture—all of these are efforts to disturb the equality of conditions that exist between the merchants. They are all deemed justifiable, praiseworthy, and the securement of this short route is only an effort of greater magnitude in this same direction. We save 10,000 miles in the passage to China over the old route by way of Cape Horn. Our government would have precisely the same right to take offence at the use of the Suez Canal by British merchants, as would the English government at our using the Nicaragua Canal.

At all events, we want our share of the world's commerce, and to secure it we must have all of the utilities that are possible. Nor can we expect to get our share without fierce struggles. There is now the most intense rivalry for this commerce on the part of commercial nations, and our rivals will use all political and commercial influences, and diplomacy with all of its arts, menacing, perhaps, to drive us out of the field.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.—There are persons who say that we are bound by treaty stipulations with the Government of Great Britain to refrain from carrying out this enterprise. This statement we do not believe. We recognize the fact that fifty years ago the United States and Great Britain entered into an alliance to secure the building of the Nicaragua Canal. Any person who dispassionately

studies carefully that treaty must come to the conclusion that the primary stipulations in the Clayton-Bulwer conventions looked to the immediate building of a canal under the influences that might be exerted by the two governments rather than to a prohibition of either to build it. Great Britain has allowed fifty years to elapse without any movement on her part to carry out the provisions of that article. It has been a dead letter from the day the treaty was signed to the present moment.

This Nicaragua Canal can properly be described in other words by calling it the "short route to the East." And then properly paraphrasing the sentence, "Great Britain and the United States bound themselves not to secure us against the other, the short route to the East." In 1850 the Nicaragua route was the only "short route to the East" that any man had in his thoughts, and the spirit of the agreement was that Great Britain would not secure "the short route to the East" without the consent and co-operation of the United States.

Violations by Great Britain.—But in violation of the spirit of the contract, Great Britain has, through her control over the Suez Canal, secured for herself "the short route to the East," one that is on her territory as completely for all practical purposes as though it was on the soil of Ireland; one that is completely under the control of her guns, at Gibraltar and the islands in the Mediterranean and on the Red Sea, and yet we are blandly told that, notwithstanding the failure on her part to observe the letter of the seventh article of the treaty and the spirit of the first article, we are bound by a treaty of alliance entered into fifty years ago.

The last fifty years has wrought a remarkable change in our relations to a waterway crossing the isthmus—1850 was only four years removed from our first occupation of California. It was only four years later than the passage of the first party of emigrants from the Mississippi River under the protection of a military force to Oregon. It was but two years after the cession of large landed interests on the

Pacific Coast from Mexico. It was only three years after settlement of the disputed boundary of our northwest Pacific possessions.

In 1850 not more than 10,000 inhabitants were on the Pacific Coast. Our coastwise trade with that coast was insignificant in value or amount. Now we have millions of citizens living on the coast. We have hundreds of millions of commerce, we have thousands of millions of wealth. We have acquired Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands. There is no comparison between the meagre interests of fifty years ago and the colossal interests of to-day. The situation has so changed, the interests of our people now and then are so diverse, the necessity of responding to these changed conditions are so overwhelming that the most censorious of those who lead in the formation of the world's judgment would say that our present action must be in harmony with these new conditions rather than with the old. There is a law of self-preservation that should control the action of communities no less than of individuals.

Every Treaty May Be Repealed.—Irrepealable statutes are not tolerated. Even the most solemnly enacted constitutions must give way to the demands of the later generations when it is found that their provisions are harmful to the public welfare. And we know of no other form of enactment, having sanctity above law and constitution, that the overwhelming needs of the people may not with consistency and morality demand the repeal of.

But we think it safe to say neither the United States nor Great Britain has continuously regarded the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as in force. In 1868 the United States and Nicaragua exchanged ratifications of a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation. The following is a part of the sixteenth article of that treaty:

"The Republic of Nicaragua agrees that, should it become necessary at any time to employ military forces for the security and protection of persons and property passing over any of the routes aforesaid, it will employ the requisite force for that purpose; but upon failure to

do this from any cause whatever the Government of the United States, with the consent or at the request of the government of Nicaragua, or the minister thereof at Washington, or of the competent, legally appointed local authorities, civil or military, may employ such force for this and for no other purpose; and when, in the opinion of the government of Nicaragua, the necessity ceases such force shall be immediately withdrawn.

"In the exceptional case, however, of unforeseen or imminent danger to the lives or property of citizens of the United States the forces of said republic are authorized to act for their protection without such consent having been previously obtained."

The last quoted paragraph above gives to the United States the right to send its forces into Nicaragua to defend the citizens of the United States and their property, the property in contemplation being the Nicaragua Canal. The use of a military force always implies the right to establish fortifications for defensive purposes.

Evidences of Treaty Abrogation.—Now it is possible that the United States would at that early day—only seventeen years after the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer convention—have secured from Nicaragua the right thus to use her military forces if the authorities had not believed that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was abrogated. But again, at an earlier period—in 1860—Great Britain herself concluded a treaty with the State of Nicaragua, in which there was an Article XVI above quoted. This was eight years before our treaty with Nicaragua. Will it be contended that Great Britatn had the right to secure from Nicaragua an agreement that she might enter with her military forces the territory of Nicaragua, and use her military forces for the defence of her people and her property, including the right to build such fortifications as might be needed for her military forces and yet the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty be in force?

It is doubtless true that in 1850 Great Britain and the United States contemplated the speedy completion of a Nicaragua Canal,

They proposed to have joint interests by joint contributions to it. But the possibilities of a Suez Canal, that followed years after 1850 dawned upon the maritime world, changed the interests of Great Britain. She no longer desired the Nicaragua Canal for her own uses. She directed her conduct with reference to the new conditions, yet still uses this ghost of a dead treaty to frighten the people of the United States from securing the great advantages certain to flow to us from the successful completion of this great undertaking.

The National Cabinet

Birth, Education and Qualifications

of the

PRESIDENT'S OFFICIAL FAMILY

Biographic View

of the distinguished Jurists and Statesmen comprising the Advisory Counselors of the Chief Executive, and to whose keeping has been entrusted the Department management of the

Country's Home and Foreign Affairs

THE CABINET

CABINET OFFICERS.

HAY, JOHN.—Born in Salem, Ind., October 8, 1838. Received his early education in Warsaw, Ill., and at the academy in Springfield, Ill. Graduated at Brown University in 1858. Studied law in Springfield, Ill., and admitted to practice before the Illinois courts in 1861, but was immediately called to Washington by President Lincoln to serve as one of his assistant secretaries.

Field Duty.—During his service in this capacity, which really ended only with Lincoln's death, he performed much active duty in the field, serving as an adjutant and aide-de-camp to Generals Hunter and Gillmore, and receiving the rank of brevet colonel of United States Volunteers. On March 22, 1865, he was appointed Secretary of Legation to France, which position he retained until March 18, 1867, when he retired.

As Secretary of Legation.—On May 20, 1867, he was appointed Secretary of Legation to Austria-Hungary, where he acted in the capacity of chargé d'affaires until August 12, 1868. On June 29, 1869, he was appointed Secretary of Legation to Spain, which office he retained until he retired on October 1, 1870.

As Editor.—On his retiracy he moved to New York, where he served for five years on the editorial staff of the *Tribune*, and for seven months of the time was editor-in-chief of that journal. In 1874 he married Miss Clara Stone, of Cleveland, Ohio, and in 1875 removed to Cleveland to reside. Here he carried on his literary work, and took an active part as a Republican in political affairs, particularly in the campaigns of 1876, 1880 and 1884.

Assistant Secretary of State.—On November 1, 1879, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of State by President Hayes, in which capacity he served until his retiracy, May 3, 1881. In 1881 he repre-

sented the United States at the International Sanitary Congress in Washington, of which he was the president.

As Author.—He now for some years devoted himself largely to literary work, and became author of a number of excellent volumes, among which was the "Life of Abraham Lincoln," written in conjunction with John G. Nicolay. He had previously published several works, among which were "Castilian Days," "Pike County Ballads," and a translation of Castelar's "Democracy in Europe."

Ambassador.—On March 19, 1897, he was appointed by President McKinley Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, which position he filled with rare ability and satisfaction until his retiracy, September 19, 1898. On the next day, September 20, he was appointed by President McKinley to be Secretary of State, to succeed the Hon. John Sherman, who retired on account of age.

Secretary of State.—In his capacity as Secretary of State, Mr. Hay has been singularly fortunate in handling the many delicate questions growing out of the Spanish War, Chinese affairs, new territorial acquisitions, and the industrial and commercial attitude of the United States toward other nations. He came into his office thoroughly equipped by his former long diplomatic experience, and struck a time in the history of American affairs during which his services were of immense practical value to the administration with which he co-operated, and to the country at large. In Chinese matters he secured the pledges of the various European powers to maintain the treaty rights of the United States in China, if such a thing as partition of the country took place; and in any and every controversy, and in all relations, with foreign countries, he maintained harmony and increased national respect.

GAGE, LYMAN J.—Born June 28, 1836, in the town of De Ruyter, Madison County, N. Y. Received his primary education in the schools of his native county; but, in, 1848, his parents removed to

Rome, N. Y., where the son received the advantages of further education at the Rome Academy. His school career ended at the early age of seventeen years, when he gave way to his business desires, and entered the Oneida Central Bank in the humble capacity of office boy, followed in due course of time by promotions through some of the junior clerkships.

Moves to the West.—The life did not suit his ambitions, and in 1855 he went to Chicago to better his fortune. After many trials incident to the life of an unknown youth amid strange surroundings, he obtained a position as clerk in a planing mill. Here he had time to look about him for further opportunity, and in 1858 he secured a bookkeeper's position in the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company of Chicago. He had seemingly struck a congenial atmosphere and propitious environment, for his promotion was rapid, and his development comprehensive. By 1861 he had reached the position of cashier, and retained it till 1868, growing all the time in the confidence of the institution and manifesting that grasp of financial conditions which was afterwards to place him in high position in the government service.

As Bank Cashier.—The Merchants' Loan and Trust Company was a State institution. Young Gage believed that the national banking system was superior to that of a state, and, in 1868, he accepted the appointment of cashier of the First National Bank of Chicago. This opened to him the opportunity for which he longed.

As Bank Vice-President.—The charter of the bank having expired, it was reorganized and rechartered in 1882, with a capital increased to $3,000,000, and with Mr. Gage promoted to the position of vice-president and general manager.

Bank President.—In 1891 he was chosen president of the bank, in which position he became an influential factor in the financial world and his bank one of the strongest institutions of the country.

Secretary of Treasury.—During his financial career Mr. Gage had been singularly free from political affiliations. He never held

nor coveted public office, though often solicited to do so. This solicitation became especially urgent at times in connection with the mayoralty of Chicago. His breadth of views on finance, his great success in the banking world, the confidence reposed in him by business associates throughout the country, led President McKinley to choose him for the high position of Secretary of the Treasury. He was appointed on March 4, 1897, and confirmed by the Senate, March 5, 1897. Having previously, February 15, 1897, resigned the presidency of his own bank, he entered upon the duties of the United States Treasury Department immediately on his confirmation.

Success as Treasury Official.—During his growing career he served as president of the Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition, president of the American Bankers' Association, and president of the Civic Federation of Chicago. During his official career at Washington he wrought many beneficial changes in the management of the Treasury Department, and gave stout support to the administration in the bringing about of regulations and measures looking to the placing of the national currency on a gold standard and to the refunding of the national debt at lower rates of interest. At no time has the credit of the country been higher and the national treasury in closer touch with the people than under the management of Mr. Gage.

ROOT, ELIHU.—Born in Clinton, Oneida County, N. Y., February 15, 1845. His early education was obtained in the schools, public and academic, of his native town, and in 1864 he graduated from Hamilton College, where his father, Oren Root, was for many years professor of mathematics.

Admission to Bar.—After graduation he taught school at the Rome Academy. This was in 1865. He then entered the University Law School of the City of New York, whence he graduated in 1867, and was admitted to the bar, since which he has been in active practice in the City of New York.

As United States Attorney.—In March, 1883, he was appointed by President Arthur United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, and served with distinction in that capacity until July, 1885. He was a delegate at large to the State Constitutional Convention of 1894, and served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, a position which did much to bring him renown as a jurist of great learning and sound judgment. Though in no sense a politician, he rose to high place in the councils of the Republican party, and grew to attract national attention.

Situation in War Department.—When Secretary of War Alger resigned the war portfolio in 1899 the situation was a complicated one. The affairs of the department had become confused, requiring a legal mind to straighten them out. Moreover, the situation in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines was such as to require a management of the War Department by one familiar with the problems of law that required solution.

As Secretary of War.—It was in such an emergency that President McKinley turned to Mr. Root as the man best fitted to represent the war branch of the government. He was appointed Secretary of War August 1, 1899, and reappointed March 5, 1901. With his appointment attacks upon the management of the department ceased, and he proceeded with singular industry and tact to rearrange it so that it would run smoothly and effectively. In his methods he thoroughly represented the administration, and secured the confidence and respect of the field and staff officials.

KNOX, PHILANDER CHASE.—Born in Pittsburg, Pa., in 1842. Received preliminary education in the public and academic schools of the city, and entered Mt. Union College, Ohio, whence he graduated in 1872. He then studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1875.

As United States District Attorney.—He served as United States District Attorney for one year, and then resigned in order to

devote himself more exclusively to his practice. By the industry he used and the ready talents at command he rose speedily to distinction in his profession, and found in it a source of large income.

A Leading Lawyer.—While he combined all the qualifications of a great general lawyer, he became an admitted leader in corporation law, and was chosen to represent many of the industrial and financial organizations of his end of the State and elsewhere.

Civic and Social Life.—In 1897 he was elected president of the Bar Association of Pennsylvania. He is a member of the Lawyers' Club of Philadelphia and of the Lawyers' Club of New York. For three years he served in the honorable position of president of the Duquesne Club, and is a distinguished member of the American and many other Pittsburg clubs, and of the Union League of New York.

Chosen Attorney-General.—His ability and prominence attracted President McKinley's notice, and his probity and general grasp of national law and of administrative questions recommended him for the place made vacant by the resignation of Attorney-General Griggs. Accordingly, the President tendered him the office of Attorney-General, which he hesitated to accept for a long time, on account of the sacrifice it would occasion of his professional business. But after urgent solicitation he yielded, and in March, 1901, accepted the place and became a member of the President's political and administrative family.

Ability as Adviser.—In the brief period of his service before the President's lamented death, he ably met all the requirements of the place, and proved to be one of the strongest and safest of the President's advisers.

SMITH, CHARLES EMORY.—Born in Mansfield, Conn., February 18, 1842. Removed when young with his parents to Albany, N. Y. Educated at Albany Academy and at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., where he graduated in 1861.

In the Civil War.—During the Civil War he acted as aid to General Rathbone, under the war governor, Morgan, in raising and organizing volunteer regiments.

As Editor.—In 1865 he became editor of the Albany *Express,* which position he filled with ability until 1870, when he became joint editor of the Albany *Evening Journal.* He continued this connection with daily growing influence and professional aptitude until 1877, when he became sole editor, and a growing power in political circles.

In Politics.—In 1876 he was chosen as a delegate to the Republican National Convention, and served as secretary of the Platform Committee. Two years afterwards, in 1878, he was elected regent of the State University by the Legislature of New York. For several years in succession he was sent as a delegate to Republican State Conventions in New York, and on account of his prominence and aptitude for such work he was invariably made chairman of committees on resolutions, and consequent author of the platforms.

Editor of "Press".—In 1880 he moved to Philadelphia to assume the editorship of the Philadelphia *Press.* To this position he brought a thorough equipment, not only as a writer, but as one in intimate touch with modern journalism. The paper was reorganized throughout, and, on account of its editorial strength and general enterprise, soon became a leader in the news literature, and a powerful, though conservative, political factor in the State.

As Orator.—During this period of his life Mr. Smith came to be recognized as one of the most effective orators of his city, and proved to be equally ready on political stump or civic platform. He took a particularly active and brilliant part in the campaign of 1888, which resulted in the election of President Harrison.

Minister to Russia.—In 1890 he was appointed Minister to Russia by President Harrison, and during the two years which he retained this position he was active in the relief work of the great Russian famine of 1891-92, and had charge of the American con-

tribution of over $100,000 in money and five shiploads of food, all of which he distributed to the satisfaction of his own government and that of Russia.

Again Editor.—On his return from Russia, Mr. Smith resumed his editorial work on the *Press,* interspersing his labors with public addresses and literary monographs. Under his able direction the journal had extended success and became even more an exponent of the higher and purer political thought of the State and nation.

Postmaster-General.—On April 21, 1898, President McKinley tendered him the position of Postmaster-General, and sent his name to the Senate. The nomination was immediately confirmed, and he entered upon the duties of his office. His régime has been distinguished by an extension of the free rural delivery system, and by a great battle for an increase of postal rates on matter whose carriage the government cannot afford under existing laws and regulations.

LONG, JOHN DAVIS.—Born in Buckfield, Oxford County, Me., October 27, 1838. Received his preparatory education in the common school of his native town and the Hebron Academy, Maine. Was graduated from Harvard in 1857. Taught school two years in Westford Academy, Massachusetts.

Enters the Bar.—Studied law at Harvard Law School and in private offices. Was admitted to the bar, and has since practiced. Was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1875, 1876, 1877 and 1878. Was Speaker of the House during the last three years.

Governor.—Was Lieutenant-Governor of his State in 1879 and Governor in 1880, 1881 and 1882.

In Congress.—Was elected to the Forty-eighth and re-elected to the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses. Was for several years on the Statehouse Construction Commission of his State. Is senior member of the law firm of Long & Hemenway. Was appointed and confirmed Secretary of the Navy, March 5, 1897.

HITCHCOCK, ETHAN ALLEN.—A great-grandson of Ethan Allen, of Vermont. Was born in Mobile, Ala., September 19, 1835; lived a year at New Orleans, and then removed to Nashville, Tenn., where he attended private schools, completing his course of study in 1855 at the military academy in New Haven, Conn.

In Mercantile Business.—Rejoining his family, who were then living at St. Louis, Mo., he engaged in mercantile business until 1860, when he went to Chicago to enter the commission house of Olyphant & Co., of which firm he was made a partner in 1866. Retired from business in 1872, and spent a couple of years in Europe.

Minister to Russia.—Returning to the United States in 1874, was engaged as president of several manufacturing, mining, and railway companies, until he was appointed, August 16, 1897, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. Reached his post in December of that year, and on February 11, 1898, was made Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg, where he discharged the duties of his office as the first American Ambassador accredited to the Russian Court, until he left for home to assume, on February 20, 1899, the duties of Secretary of the Interior, for which office he was nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate on the same day, December 21, 1898.

WILSON, JAMES.—Born in Ayrshire, Scotland, August 16, 1835. In 1852 he came to the United States, settling in Connecticut with his parents. In 1855 he went to Iowa, locating in Tama County, where, as early as 1861, he engaged in farming. Was elected to the State Legislature, and served in the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth General Assemblies, being Speaker of the House in the last-mentioned assembly.

In Congress.—Was elected to Congress in 1872, and served in the Forty-third, Forty-fourth and Forty-eighth Congresses; in the interim between the Forty-fourth and Forty-eighth Congresses served

as a member of the Railway Commission; from 1870 to 1874 was a regent of the State University, and for the six years previous to becoming Secretary of Agriculture was director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and professor of agriculture at the Iowa Agricultural College at Ames. Was confirmed Secretary of Agriculture March 5, 1897.

Men of National Mark

Biographic Sketches of American
Characters Eminent in

Civic and Official Life

Men who have impressed themselves on our institutions. The great leaders of thought and action. Heroes distinguished for achievement on land and sea. Governors and administrative men, to whom have been committed the destinies of our new island possessions, and the American policy of colonization.

MEN OF MARK

MEN OF MARK.

TAFT, WILLIAM H.—William H. Taft, of Cincinnati, Ohio, head of Philippine Civil Government, is the son of the late Alphonso Taft, who served from 1865 to 1871 as judge of the Superior Court of that city, United States Attorney-General, under President Grant, and afterwards as Minister Plenipotentiary to Austria and to Russia.

As Attorney.—Springing from a source so eminent in law and diplomacy, the son followed an inherited inclination toward the legal profession, and at an early period reached the distinction of a leading jurist in his city.

As Judge.—Being of strong judicial turn, he was honored with the appointment of judge of the United States Court for the sixth judicial circuit, with residence at Cincinnati, in which capacity his great legal ability, sterling judgment and vigorous administrative capacity attracted executive attention to him as the proper person to entrust with the new and delicate duties connected with the institution of civil government in the Philippine Islands.

Head of Philippine Commission.—Accordingly, on February 6, 1900, President McKinley announced that he had selected a new commission, composed of five members, to proceed to the Philippines for the purpose of taking up the work of instituting a civil régime, of which commission Judge Taft had been made chairman. The other members were Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan; General Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Judge Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California. The President was widely complimented for his selection of such an able and eminent body of men, and for officering it with a chairman who united so thoroughly the judicial turn with power of initiative. At the date of his appointment, Judge Taft was only about forty-five years of age, and therefore in that mental and physical

prime demanded for his arduous and protracted task amid a strange people and exacting climate. He has already inaugurated a satisfactory civil government in many islands, and in time all will accept his administration.

ALLEN, CHARLES H.—First Governor of Porto Rico.—Born in Lowell, Mass., and after passing through the public schools, graduated at Amherst College in 1869. Though a good writer and speaker, he entered upon a manufacturing career.

In Public Life.—While still a young man he served in many local offices, and then in the Massachusetts House in 1881 and 1882, then in the Massachusetts Senate in 1883, and in Congress for two terms. Against his will he was nominated for governor of Massachusetts in 1891, against William E. Russell.

Assistant Secretary of Navy.—He came to the Navy Department as assistant secretary in 1898, at the age of fifty-two, at a personal sacrifice and as a patriotic duty. He at once greatly improved the work of the office and became the *alter ego* of the Secretary, performing his duties with satisfaction during his absence. No other official ever had more of the respect and regard of the navy than he.

Governor of Porto Rico.—His discretion, firmness, courage, tact and unvarying courtesy, together with wonderful organizing and executive ability, were qualities which commended him to the President as an ideal civic ruler of Porto Rico. He had already visited the island and studied its institutions and people. He entered upon the duties of governor at San Juan on May 1, 1900. The spirit of his incumbency is foreshadowed in remarks made at the time of his appointment. Said he: "My own inclination and my personal interests urge me to decline the appointment; but one should not always choose the easy way; there is a patriotic duty sometimes to be performed. My effort shall be to administer the government so as to command and hold the confidence of the people; to help them to realize

the best there is in them, and to assist them in the development of the island along the lines which have made us a prosperous nation." Resigned, to take effect September 1, 1901, and was succeeded by Governor Hunt.

MILES, NELSON A.—Born at Wachusettville, Mass., on August 8, 1839, and educated in the schools of his native town. When the Civil War broke out he entered the volunteer service as captain of the Twenty-second Massachusetts Volunteers, September, 1861. Was made adjutant-general of a brigade for distinguished services at Fair Oaks and Malvern Hill.

Colonel of Sixty-first New York Regiment.—On September 30, 1862, he was appointed colonel of the Sixty-first New York Volunteers, which regiment he gallantly commanded at the Battle of Fredericksburg; he was severely wounded at the Battle of Chancellorsville.

Major-General.—On May 12, 1864, he was promoted to be a brigadier-general, and further distinguished himself in the campaigns before Richmond. In August, 1864, he was promoted to brevet major-general and to full major-general of volunteers in October, 1865.

In Regular Army.—On July 28, 1866, he was made a colonel of the Fortieth Infantry in the regular army of the United States. On March 15, 1869, he was transferred to the Fifth United States Infantry, having been first commissioned a brevet brigadier, and then brevet major-general in the regular army, on March 2, 1867. He was promoted to be full brigadier in the United States army in December, 1880, and to be a full major-general, April 5, 1890.

In Indian Wars.—He commanded many military departments, and particularly distinguished himself in the suppression of Indian outbreaks. During the serious riots at Chicago, in July, 1894, he commanded the United States troops sent to the scene. On October 5, 1895, he assumed command of the army of the United States, with

headquarters at Washington. Pending the surrender of the Spaniards at Santiago, he visited the scene and took part in the deliberations which led to capitulation.

In Porto Rico.—He led the army which invaded the island of Porto Rico, and was fast reducing it to subjection when word came of the signing of the protocol, under whose terms hostilities were suspended.

Lieutenant-General.—On June 8, 1900, he was commissioned by the President as lieutenant-general of the army, this honorary grade having been revived by the Military Academy Act of the Fifty-sixth Congress.

MacARTHUR, MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR.—Born in the State of Massachusetts and received a liberal education. Entered the Civil War as a first lieutenant, and by 1865 had passed through the grades of lieutenant and brevet colonel of Twenty-fourth Wisconsin Regiment.

In Regular Army.—On February 23, 1866, he entered the regular army as first lieutenant of the Seventeenth Infantry. On July 1, 1866, was promoted to captain of Thirty-sixth Infantry. On July 1, 1889, became major and assistant adjutant-general. On May 26, 1896, was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. On May 27, 1898, was appointed brigadier-general of United States Volunteers. Subsequently promoted to major-general of volunteers, and assigned to duty as commander of Second Division, Eighth Corps, 1898-99, in Havana, Cuba.

In the Philippines.—After the Spanish-American War was promoted to brigadier-general in regular army, and assigned to duty (1899) as commander of the division of Philippine Islands. Remained in this command till relieved by the appointment of General Chaffee in the summer of 1901. During his service in the islands he carried on many active campaigns against the insurgent tribes, and succeeded in crushing out rebellion to such an extent as to admit of the

introduction of civil government under Judge Taft, the head of the Philippine Commission.

HUNT, WILLIAM H.—Born in New Orleans, November 5, 1857. His father, William Henry Hunt, was Secretary of the Navy under Garfield and Arthur, and afterwards Minister to Russia.

A Montana Judge.—After graduating at Yale College, Mr. Hunt settled in Montana, and served as a member of the convention which drafted the constitution of the State in 1884. He was elected judge of the district of Montana in 1889, and again in 1892. In 1894 he was elected judge of the Supreme Court of the State.

Secretary of Porto Rico.—When Charles H. Allen was appointed governor of Porto Rico, Mr. Hunt was made secretary of the insular government, which position he held until the resignation of Governor Allen, to take effect September 1, 1901.

Governor of Porto Rico.—In July, President McKinley named him as Allen's successor, and the succession took effect on Mr. Allen's retiracy.

WOOD, LEONARD.—Born at Winchester, N. H., October 9, 1860. Graduated at Harvard Medical School, 1884. Appointed first-lieutenant and assistant surgeon in United States Army, January 5, 1886, and captain and surgeon January 5, 1891.

Colonel of "Rough Riders."—Recruited First United States Cavalry Regiment of Volunteers ("Rough Riders") for Spanish War, and became its colonel May 8, 1898.

Brigadier General.—Promoted to brigadier general of volunteers July 8, 1898, for gallant service at San Juan Hill and Las Guasimas, and to major-general of volunteers December 9, 1899.

Military Governor of Cuba.—December 13, 1899, assigned to command of Division of Cuba, relieving General Brooks as division commander and military governor of the island. He at once sum-

moned a Cabinet of six natives of the island, and began those vigorous reforms which have made his name conspicuous.

WHEELER, JOSEPH.—Joseph Wheeler was born in Augusta, Ga., September 10, 1836. He was the third of the name, his grandfather, Joseph Wheeler, being a direct descendant of Moses Wheeler, one of the early settlers of New England. He graduated at West Point, in 1859, as lieutenant of cavalry, and served in New Mexico.

In Confederate Army.—Became lieutenant of artillery in the Confederate Army, and was successively promoted to the command of a regiment, brigade, division and army corps, and in 1862 was assigned to the command of the army corps of cavalry of the western army, which command he retained until the close of the war, becoming, in 1864, senior cavalry general of the Confederate armies.

Congressional Career.—He was appointed Professor of Philosophy, Louisiana Seminary, in 1866, which he declined. He became a lawyer and planter, and was elected to the Forty-seventh, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

In Spanish-American War.—When the Spanish-American War broke out General Wheeler was appointed by President McKinley major-general of volunteers, his commission dating May 4, 1898, and he was assigned to command the cavalry division of the army at Santiago. On June 24, with 900 men, he fought and defeated Lieutenant-General Linares at Las Guasimas, Cuba, with over 2,000 regular Spanish troops. At the Battle of San Juan, July 1 and 2, he was senior officer in immediate command, and was senior member of commission which negotiated the surrender of Santiago. August 18 he was assigned to the command of the United States forces at Montauk, L. I., and on October 5 was assigned to the command of the Fourth Army Corps.

In the Philippines.—He was honorably mustered out as major-general, and was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers April 12, 1899, and on August 31 was placed in command of the First Brigade, Second Division, Eighth Corps, in the Philippines. Was engaged with enemy at Santa Rita, September 9, and also on September 16, in the capture of Porac, September 28, and the various engagements with the enemy at Angeles, October 10 to 17 inclusive. He returned to the United States in February, 1900, after the insurrection was practically subdued.

LEE, FITZHUGH.—Born at Clermont, Fairfax County, Va., November 19, 1835. Graduated at West Point Military Academy, 1856. Served as second lieutenant of Second Cavalry, and wounded in frontier Indian War. Cavalry instructor at West Point, 1860-61.

In Confederate Service.—Entered Confederate service and served as adjutant-general under Ewell, and then as colonel of First Virginia Cavalry, participating in all the battles of 1861-62, fought by the Army of Northern Virginia. Promoted to brigadier-general, 1862; and to major-general, 1863.

Cavalry Commander.—In 1865 commanded the entire cavalry service of the Army of Northern Virginia, until its surrender to General Meade. Elected governor of Virginia for the term 1886-90.

In Spanish-American War.—In 1893, appointed Consul to Havana, where he served until breaking out of Spanish-American War, 1898, when he was commissioned a major-general of United States Volunteers and placed in command of an army corps. After the war he was made Military Governor of Havana, and was active and influential in restoring order and reconciling Cubans to their new conditions. Subsequently he was assigned to duty in the United States Army as Commander of the Department of Missouri.

SCHLEY, WINFIELD SCOTT.—Born at Frederick, Md., 1839. Graduated at Naval Academy, 1860. On duty on frigate "Niagara,"

in Chinese waters, 1860-61. Promoted to master, 1861, and to lieutenant, July 16, 1862.

Service During Civil War.—Served during the Civil War in West Gulf Blockading Squadron, and participated in the engagements leading to the capture of Port Hudson in 1863. Remained in Southern waters until 1866, when transferred to Pacific Coast for active duty.

At Naval Academy.—Made lieutenant-commander, 1866, and transferred for duty to Naval Academy. In active service in Eastern waters, 1869-71, in which last year he participated in a successful attack by American marines upon the Korean forts on Salee River.

Rescues Greely.—In 1872, Professor of Modern Languages at Annapolis. Promoted to commodore, 1874, and in same year commanded the "Relief Expedition" which rescued Lieutenant Greely and his command from their ice imprisonment at Cape Sabine. After service in various capacities, promoted to captain, March 31, 1888. Commanded the "Baltimore" during Chilean troubles, 1891.

In Spanish-American War.—Promoted to commodore, February, 1898, and placed in command of Flying Squadron operating against Cuba. In command of the "Brooklyn" during the capture and destruction of Cervera's fleet, July 3, 1898, and fairly divided the honors of the occasion with other commanding officers. August, 1898, promoted to rear-admiral, and served further as commander of South Atlantic Squadron.

SAMPSON, WILLIAM THOMAS.—Born in Palmyra, N. Y., February 9, 1840. Appointed to navy, September 24, 1857. Graduated with first honors at Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1861, and promoted to master. Commissioned lieutenant, July 16, 1862

Rescue From Drowning.—Executive officer of the ironclad "Patapsco" when it was blown up in Charleston harbor, and was rescued from the water into which he was blown. Commissioned lieuten-

ant-commander, July 25, 1866; and commander, August 9, 1874. Promoted to captain, March, 1889.

Superintendent of Naval Academy.—Superintendent of Naval Academy, 1886-90. In conjunction with Lieutenant Joseph Strauss invented the superimposed turrets adopted by the navy. February, 1898, president of board appointed to inquire into the cause of destruction of the United States battleship "Maine," in Havana harbor, February 15.

Appointed Commander.—Upon declaration of war with Spain (1898), appointed commander of North Atlantic Squadron with rank of acting rear-admiral, and in same year promoted to be commodore. In 1899, promoted to be rear-admiral.

Commanding Atlantic Fleet.—During the Spanish War he commanded the entire Atlantic fleet comprising 125 vessels of all classes. That part of his fleet operating against Cuba, and especially at Santiago, destroyed the Spanish fleet, under Cervera, on its attempt to escape from Santiago harbor, July 3, 1898. Resumed command of the North Atlantic fleet, December, 1898. October 14, 1899, appointed to command of Boston Navy Yard.

CLEVELAND, GROVER.—Born in Caldwell, Essex County, N. J., March 18, 1837. Received an academic education, and moved to Buffalo, N. Y., in 1855, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1859.

Assistant District Attorney.—Assistant District Attorney of Erie County, 1863-66. Sheriff of the county, 1870-73. Mayor of Buffalo, 1881. The strength and economy of his administration brought him conspicuously before the people of New York State.

Governor of New York.—In 1883 he was elected governor, on the Democratic ticket, in which capacity he added largely to his reputation as a sterling official.

President of United States.—Nominated for and elected President of the United States in 1884, over James G. Blaine, by a majority of 37 in the electoral college. In 1888 he was again the Democratic candidate for President, but was defeated by Benjamin Harrison, the Republican candidate. Returned to his law practice in the city of New York.

Again President.—In 1892 was again elected to the Presidency over President Harrison. During his second administration, his party swung away from his policy of a gold standard and adopted the doctrine of free silver coinage, leaving Mr. Cleveland to represent only that minority branch of his party, which became known in the campaign of 1896 as "Gold Democrats."

In Private Life.—On retiring from office, March 3, 1897, Mr. Cleveland took up his residence in Princeton, N. J., and devoted himself to the quiet life of a publicist and civilian.

HILL, DAVID B.—Born in Havana, N. Y., August 29, 1843. Moved to Elmira in 1862. Received a liberal education and was admitted to the bar in 1864. Began practice of the law and soon occupied a high legal standing.

In Public Life.—Was elected to the New York Assembly and served for the term 1871-72. Was president of the Democratic State Conventions of 1877 and 1881. Elected an alderman of Elmira in 1880, and mayor in 1882. Elected lieutenant-governor of the State and served the term of 1882-85.

Governor and Senator.—Elected governor of the State for the terms 1885-91, and to the United States Senate for the term 1891-97. Mr. Hill was a conspicuous candidate for the Presidential candidacy of his party in the Democratic National Convention of 1892. In the National Convention of 1896, he led the sound money forces of his party against the various free-silver and Populistic combinations, but was overwhelmed by the stampede for Bryan. He was even stronger

in the councils of his party during the convention period of 1900, but was again overruled by the free-silver-coinage sentiment. Since his Senatorship he has carried on his law business with success, at the same time keeping abreast of that sentiment in his party which seeks its reorganization on traditional lines, and opposes hazardous and belittling coalitions.

LOW, SETH.—Born in Brooklyn, N. Y., January 18, 1850. Received his earlier education in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, and graduated from Columbia College in 1870. Has been honored with the degree of LL. D. by the University of the State of New York, Amherst College, University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and Princeton universities. At first entered upon a business career as a clerk, and afterwards as a partner, in the tea-importing house of his father.

In Public Life.—The independent forces of Brooklyn made him their candidate for the mayoralty, and elected him for the term of 1881-85, during which time he gave an administration which did much to purify the city and bring about much needed reforms. His independence and administrative success gave him great prominence in New York political circles, and after the consolidation of the city he was chosen the anti-Tammany candidate for mayor. But the coalition of forces in his favor was imperfect, and he suffered defeat.

University President.—On the removal, rebuilding and new organization of the Columbia University he was chosen its president, and through his agency the institution has come to occupy the high plane desired by all its patrons. He is president and active worker in many literary and scientific societies, and an influential force in social life. In September, 1901, he was nominated as candidate for mayor of the Greater New York, by a coalition of all the anti-Tammany forces, this time having also the support of the Republican party, which he lacked in his former campaign.

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS.—Born at Salem, Ill., March 19, 1860. Educated at Whipple Academy, Jacksonville, Ill., and Illinois College, where he graduated in 1881. Studied law at Union Law College, Chicago, and admitted to bar in 1883. In 1887, moved to Lincoln, Neb., and opened law office. Soon entered upon his political career, and became noted as an eloquent campaigner.

In Congress.—Elected to Congress in 1890, by nearly seven thousand majority. Though the youngest member of the Lower House, he was assigned a place on the Committee of Ways and Means, and soon showed a mastery of tariff reform matters, both in Committee and by his discussions on the floor. He stood for election in the Fifty-third Congress (1892) and was elected by a reduced majority. He now became leader of the free-silver forces. At the end of his term he declined renomination and became editor of the *World-Herald,* Omaha.

Presidential Nominee.—In the Democratic National Convention, of July, 1896, at Chicago, he led the "free-silver coinage" wing of his party, and at a time when the nomination was hanging fire, delivered an eloquent address to the convention, which turned sentiment so powerfully toward himself that he received the nomination for President by a vote of 528 to 148. After a brilliant campaign, he was defeated by McKinley, the Republican candidate, by an electoral vote of 271 to 176. In 1898, became colonel of Third Nebraska Regiment, raised for the Spanish War. Again nominated for President by the Democratic, Populist and Silver parties in 1900, at Kansas City. Made an active traveling canvass as before, but was again defeated by a vote in the Electoral College of 292 to 155. Became well known as a lecturer and author, and after his second defeat started the *Commoner* newspaper at Lincoln, a weekly devoted to the measures he regards as paramount from both a party and national standpoint.

The Nation's Law Makers

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THE NATION'S LAW MAKERS AND EXPOUNDERS

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Melville Weston Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States, was born in Augusta, Me., February 11, 1833; was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1853; studied law, attended a course of lectures at Harvard Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1855. Moved to Chicago, Ill., in 1856, where he practiced law until appointed Chief Justice; in 1862 was a member of the State Constitutional Convention; was a member of the State Legislature from 1863 to 1865; was appointed Chief Justice April 30, 1888, confirmed July 20, 1888, and took the oath of office October 8, same year.

John Marshall Harlan, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was born in Boyle County, Ky., June 1, 1833; was graduated from Center College, Kentucky, in 1850; studied law at Transylvania University; practiced his profession at Frankfort; removed to Louisville and formed a law partnership with Honorable W. F. Bullock; in 1861 raised the Tenth Kentucky Infantry Regiment and served in General George H. Thomas' division; was elected attorney-general by the Union party in 1863 and filled the office until 1867, when he returned to active practice in Louisville; served as a member of the Louisiana commission; was commissioned an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court November 29, 1877, and took his seat December 10, same year.

Horace Gray, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born in Boston, Mass., March 24, 1828; graduated from Harvard College in the Class of 1845 and from the Harvard Law School in 1849; was admitted to the bar in 1851; was appointed reporter of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1854 and held the position until 1861; was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts August 23, 1864, and Chief Justice of that Court September 5, 1873; was commissioned an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Arthur December 19, 1881.

David Josiah Brewer, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was born in Smyrna, Asia Minor, June 20, 1837; graduated from Yale College in 1856 and from the Albany Law School in 1858; established himself in his profession at Leavenworth, Kan., in 1859; from 1862 to 1865 was judge of the probate and criminal courts of Leavenworth County; from 1865 to 1869 was judge of the district court; from 1869 to 1870 was county attorney of Leavenworth; in 1870 was elected a justice of the Supreme Court of his State, and re-elected in 1876 and 1882; in 1884 was appointed judge of the Circuit Court of the United States for the eighth district; was appointed to his present position, to succeed Justice Stanley Matthews, deceased, in December, 1889, and was commissioned December 18, 1889.

Henry Billings Brown, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born in South Lee, Mass., March 2, 1836; graduated from Yale College in 1856; admitted to the bar of Wayne County, Mich., in July, 1860; in the spring of 1861 was appointed Deputy Marshal of the United States, and subsequently Assistant United States Attorney for the eastern district of Michigan; appointed judge of the State Circuit Court of Wayne County; appointed by President Grant District Judge for the eastern district of Michigan in 1875; on December 23, 1890, was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, to succeed Justice Samuel F. Miller.

George Shiras, Jr., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born in Pittsburg, Pa., January 26, 1832; was graduated from Yale College in 1853; attended the Yale Law School in 1854; was admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania in 1856; practiced law in Pennsylvania till his appointment to the Supreme Bench; received the degree of LL. D. from Yale University in 1883; was one of the Pennsylvania Presidential electors in 1888; in July, 1892, was appointed to succeed Justice Joseph P. Bradley; took the oath of office October 10, 1892.

Edward Douglass White, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born in the parish of Lafourche, La., in November, 1845; was educated at Mount St. Mary's, near Emmitsburg, Md., at the Jesuit College in New Orleans, and at Georgetown

(D. C.) College; served in the Confederate army; was licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court of Louisiana in December, 1868; elected State Senator in 1874; was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana in 1878; was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat, and took his seat March 4, 1891; while serving his term as Senator from Louisiana was appointed, February 19, 1894, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and took his seat March 12, 1894.

Rufus W. Peckham, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born in the city of Albany and State of New York, November 8, 1838; educated at the Albany Academy; admitted to the bar of the State in December, 1859. In 1868 he was elected district attorney of Albany County; was subsequently corporation counsel of Albany City, and in 1883 was elected a justice of the Supreme Court of the State. While serving as such he was elected, in 1886, an associate judge of the Court of Appeals of New York State, and while occupying a seat on that bench he was, in December, 1895, appointed by President Cleveland an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Joseph McKenna, of San Francisco, Cal., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., August 10, 1843; attended St. Joseph's College of his native city until 1855, when he removed with his parents to Benicia, Cal., where he continued his education at the public schools and the Collegiate Institute, at which he studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1865; was twice elected district attorney for Solano County; served in the Lower House of the Legislature in the sessions of 1875 and 1876; was elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses; resigned from the last-named Congress to accept the position of United States Circuit Judge, to which he was appointed by President Harrison in 1893; resigned that office to accept the place of Attorney-General of the United States in the Cabinet of President McKinley; was appointed, December 16, 1897, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States to succeed Justice Field, retired, and took his seat January 26, 1898.

FIFTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

ALABAMA SENATORS.

John T. Morgan.—Born at Athens, Tenn., June 20, 1824; received an academic education, chiefly in Alabama, to which State he emigrated when nine years old; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1845; joined the Confederate army in May, 1861; in 1863 was appointed brigadier-general; after the war he resumed the practice of his profession at Selma; was elected to the United States Senate; took his seat March 5, 1877; was re-elected in 1882, in 1888, in 1894 and 1900.

Edmund Winston Pettus.—Born in Limestone County, Ala., July 6, 1821; educated at the common schools in Alabama and at Clinton College; admitted to the bar in 1842; in 1844 was elected solicitor for the seventh circuit; served as a lieutenant in the Mexican War; elected judge of the seventh circuit of Alabama in 1855; in 1861 went into the Confederate army; in October, 1863, was made a brigadier-general of infantry; in November, 1896, was elected by the Legislature of Alabama United States Senator for the term commencing March 4, 1897.

ALABAMA REPRESENTATIVES.

George Washington Taylor, of First District, was born January 16, 1849, in Montgomery County, Ala.; educated at the South Carolina University; admitted to practice at Mobile, Ala., November, 1871; was elected to the Lower House of the General Assembly of Alabama in 1878; in 1880 was elected state solicitor for the first judicial circuit of Alabama, and was re-elected in 1886; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Jesse F. Stallings, of Second District, was born near the village of Manningham, Butler County, Ala., April 4, 1856; graduated from the University of Alabama in 1877; studied law at the Law School of the University of Alabama; commenced the practice of law in Green-

ville; elected by the Legislature of Alabama solicitor for the second judicial circuit in November, 1886; was elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry De Lamar Clayton, of Third District, was born in Barbour County, Ala., February 10, 1857; is a lawyer by profession; served one term in the Alabama Legislature; was a United States District Attorney from May, 1893, to October, 1896; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William F. Aldrich, Republican, of Fourth District, was born at Palmyra, Wayne County, N. Y., March 11, 1853; graduated from Warren's Military Academy, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; removed to Alabama in 1874 and engaged in mining and manufacturing; elected to the Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

Willis Brewer, Democrat, of Fifth District, is a native Alabamian; in 1871 was county treasurer of Lowndes; was state auditor from 1876 to 1880; was state legislator from 1880 to 1882; State Senator from 1882 to 1890; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John H. Bankhead, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in Moscow, Marion County (now Lamar), Ala., September 13, 1842; was self-educated; represented Marion County in the General Assembly, sessions of 1865, 1866 and 1867; was a member of the State Senate 1876-77, and of the House of Representatives 1880-81; was elected to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Lawson Burnett, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born at Cedar Bluff, Cherokee County, Ala., January 20, 1854; educated in the common schools of the county, at the Wesleyan Institute, Cave Springs, Ga., and Gaylesville High School, Gaylesville, Ala.; elected to the Lower House of the Alabama Legislature in 1884, and to the State Senate in 1886; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Richardson, Democrat, of Eighth District, is a native of Limestone County, Ala.; a member of the bar of Huntsville, Ala., since 1867; judge of the Court of Probate and County Court of

Madison County, Ala.; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress August 6, 1900.

Oscar W. Underwood, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born in Louisville, Jefferson County, Ky., May 6, 1862; educated at Rigby School, Louisville, Ky., and the University of Virginia; commenced the practice of law at Birmingham, Ala., September, 1884; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

ARKANSAS SENATORS.

James H. Berry. Democrat, was born in Jackson County, Ala., September 29, 1839; received a classical education; elected to the admitted to practice in 1866; was elected to the Legislature of Arkansas in 1866; re-elected in 1872; elected judge of the Circuit Court in 1878; elected governor in 1882; elected to the United State Senate, and took his seat March 25, 1885; re-elected in 1889 and 1895.

James K. Jones, Democrat, was born in Marshall County, Miss., September 29, 1839; received a classical education; elected to the State Senate of Arkansas in 1873; re-elected under the new government, and in 1877 was elected president of the Senate; elected to the Forty-seventh Congress; re-elected to the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses; elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat March 4, 1885; was re-elected in 1890 and 1897.

ARKANSAS REPRESENTATIVES.

Philip Doddridge McCulloch, Democrat, of First District, was born in Murfreesboro, Tenn., June 23, 1851; educated at Andrew College; admitted to the bar in August, 1872; removed to Marianna, Ark., in February, 1874; elected to the office of prosecuting attorney of the first judicial district of the State in September, 1878; renominated and elected three successive terms; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Sebastian Little, Democrat, of Second District, was born at Jenny Lind, Sebastian County, Ark., March 15, 1893; educated

in the common schools and at Cane Hill College, Arkansas; admitted to the bar in 1874; in 1877 elected district attorney for the twelfth circuit of Arkansas; re-elected for four successive terms; was elected a representative to the Legislature in 1884; in 1886 was elected circuit judge; in September, 1894, elected to Fifty-third Congress; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thomas Chipman McRae, Democrat, of Third District, was born at Mount Holly, Union County, Ark., December 21, 1851; graduated in law at the Washington and Lee University, Virginia, in class of 1871-72; admitted to practice January 8, 1873; member of the State Legislature of Arkansas in 1877; elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Leake Terry, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Anson County, N. C., September 27, 1850; removed with his parents to Arkansas in 1861; admitted to Trinity College, North Carolina, in 1869, and graduated in June, 1872; studied law and admitted to the bar in November, 1873; elected to the State Senate in September, 1878; served eight terms as city attorney of Little Rock; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Con- and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Hugh Anderson Dinsmore, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born in Benton County, Ark., December 24, 1850; educated in private schools in Benton and Washington counties; studied law at Bentonville; in September, 1878, elected prosecuting attorney of the fourth judicial district of Arkansas; was re-elected in 1880, and again without opposition in 1882; in January, 1887, was appointed Minister Resident and Consul-General of the United States in the Kingdom of Korea; was elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Stephen Brundidge, Jr., Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in White County, Ark., January 1, 1857; educated in the private schools of the county, studied law at Searcy, and in 1878 was admitted to the bar; in September, 1886, was elected prosecuting attorney for the first judicial district of Arkansas, and re-elected in

1888; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

CALIFORNIA SENATORS.

George Clement Perkins, Republican, was born at Kennebunkport, Me., in 1839; went to California in 1855 and engaged in mercantile pursuits; in 1868 was elected to the State Senate; in 1879 he was elected governor of California, serving until January, 1883; appointed, July 24, 1893, United States Senator. In January, 1895, having made a thorough canvass before the people of his State, he was elected by the Legislature on the first ballot to fill the unexpired term; re-elected in 1897.

Thomas Robert Bard, Republican, was born in Chambersburg, Pa., December 8, 1841; went to California in 1864; elected to the United States Senate at an extra session of the State Legislature, by unanimous vote of the Republican majority, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the expiration of the term of Stephen M. White, Democrat, March 3, 1899, and took the oath of office in the Senate March 5, 1900.

CALIFORNIA REPRESENTATIVES.

John A. Barham, Republican, of First District, was born in Missouri July 17, 1844; removed with his parents to California in 1849; educated at the Hesperian College; studied law and was admitted to practice in 1868; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Samuel Davis Woods, Republican, of Second District, was born at Mount Pleasant, Maury County, Tenn., on September 19, 1845; reached California in February, 1850, was educated in the public schools, and admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of California in April, 1875; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Marion De Vries.

Victor Howard Metcalf, Republican, of Third District, was born in Utica, Oneida County, N. Y., October 10, 1853; entered the Yale Law School, graduated therefrom in 1876; was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Connecticut in June, 1876; practiced law in

Utica, N. Y., for two years, and then moved to California; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Julius Kahn, Republican, of Fourth District, was born at Kuppenheim, Grand Duchy of Baden, on the 28th day of February, 1861; removed with his parents to California in 1866; was educated in the public schools of San Francisco. In January, 1894, was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of California, and was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Eugene Francis Loud, Republican, of Fifth District, was born in Abington, Mass., March 12, 1847; at the age of thirteen went to sea and to California; member of California Legislature in 1884, and was elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Russell Judson Waters, Republican, of Sixth District, was born June 6, 1843, at Halifax, Vt.; admitted to the bar in 1863; removed to Los Angeles, Cal., in 1894; was unanimously nominated for the Fifty-sixth Congress, and elected.

James Carson Needham, Republican, of Seventh District, was born September 17, 1864, in Carson City, Nev.; took a collegiate course at the University of the Pacific at San José, graduating in the year 1886; began practice of law in November, 1889; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

COLORADO SENATORS.

Edward Oliver Wolcott, Republican, of Denver, was born in Longmeadow, Mass., March 26, 1848; graduated from Harvard Law School in 1871, and removed to Colorado; elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat March 4, 1889; was re-elected in 1895.

Henry Moore Teller, Silver Republican, of Central City, was born in the town of Granger, Allegany County, N. Y., May 23, 1830; educated at Alfred University; admitted to practice at Binghamton, N. Y.; removed to Colorado and resumed the practice of law; never held an office until he was elected to the United States Senate from Colorado on the admittance of that State; took his seat in the United States Senate, December 4, 1876; was re-elected December 11 for the

full term, and served until April 17, 1882, when he resigned to enter the Cabinet of President Arthur as Secretary of the Interior, and served until March 3, 1885; was re-elected to the Senate in 1885, 1891 and 1897.

COLORADO REPRESENTATIVES.

John F. Shafroth, Silverite, of First District, was born in Fayette, Mo., June 9, 1854; admitted to the bar in August, 1876; removed to Denver, Colo.; in April, 1887, was elected city attorney of Denver, and was re-elected to the same position in April, 1889; was elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress as a Republican, and re-elected to the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses as a Silver Republican.

John C. Bell, Populist, of Second District, was born in Grundy County, Tenn., December 11, 1851; read law in Winchester, Tenn.; was admitted to the bar of that State in 1874, and the same year moved to Colorado; was twice elected mayor of Lake City; in November, 1888, was elected judge of the seventh judicial district of Colorado; was elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

CONNECTICUT SENATORS.

Orville H. Platt, Republican, of Meriden, was born at Washington, Conn., July 19, 1827; received an academic education; studied law at Litchfield; admitted to the bar in 1849; Secretary of State of Connecticut in 1857; was a member of the State Senate in 1861-62; member of the State House of Representatives in 1864 and 1869; elected to the United States Senate took his seat March 18, 1879; was re-elected in 1885, 1890 and 1897.

Joseph Roswell Hawley, Republican, of Hartford, was born at Stewartsville, Richmond County, N. C., October 31, 1826; graduated at Hamilton College, New York, in 1847; admitted to the bar in 1850 at Hartford, Conn.; became editor of the Hartford *Evening Press* in February, 1857; enlisted in the Union Army as a captain April 18, 1861; became brigadier and brevet major-general; elected governor of Connecticut in April, 1866; president of the United States Cen-

tennial Commission; was elected in November, 1872, a Representative in the Forty-second Congress; re-elected to the Forty-third and Forty-sixth Congresses; elected to the United States Senate; took his seat March 4, 1881; was re-elected in 1887, 1893 and 1899.

CONNECTICUT REPRESENTATIVES.

E. Stevens Henry, Republican, of First District, was born in Gill, Mass., in 1836, removing when twelve years old with his parents to Rockville, Conn.; was educated in the public schools; Representative in the Lower House of the Connecticut General Assembly of 1883; State Senator from the twenty-third senatorial district in 1887-88; treasurer of the State of Connecticut from 1889 to 1893; in 1894 was elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress; elected to the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

Nehemiah Day Sperry, Republican, of Second District, was born in Woodbridge, New Haven County, Conn, July 10, 1827; received his education in the common schools; elected Secretary of State in 1855; re-elected in 1856; nominated for Congress in 1894; was elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Addison Russell, Republican, of Third District, was born in Worcester, Mass., March 2, 1852; graduated from Yale College in the Class of 1873; member of the House, General Assembly of Connecticut, in 1883; Secretary of State of Connecticut, 1885-86; elected to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Ebenezer J. Hill, Republican, of Fourth District, was born in Redding, Conn., August 4, 1845; entered Yale with the Class of 1865, where he remained two years; member of the Connecticut Senate for 1886-87; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

DELAWARE SENATOR.

Richard Rolland Kenney, Democrat, of Dover, was born in Sussex County, Del., September 9, 1856; graduated from Laurel Acad-

emy, Delaware, June, 1874; admitted to the bar October 19, 1881; was elected to the United States Senate January 19, 1897.

DELAWARE REPRESENTATIVE.

Walter Oakley Hoffecker, Republican, was born September 20, 1854; entered Lehigh University, at Bethlehem, Pa.; studied civil engineering; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

FLORIDA SENATORS.

Stephen Russell Mallory, Democrat, of Pensacola, was born November 2, 1848; entered Georgetown College, District of Columbia, November, 1865, and graduated in June, 1869; admitted to bar by the Supreme Court of Louisiana at New Orleans in 1873; removed to Pensacola, Fla., in 1874; elected to the Lower House of the Legislature in 1876; elected to the Senate of Florida in 1880, and re-elected in 1884; elected to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses from the first district of Florida, and was elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Florida for the term beginning March 4, 1897.

James Piper Taliaferro, Democrat, of Jacksonville, was born at Orange Court House, Va., September 30, 1847; educated in Virginia; removed later to Jacksonville, Fla.; elected to the United States Senate April 19, 1899, to succeed Hon. Samuel Pasco.

FLORIDA REPRESENTATIVES.

Stephen M. Sparkman, Democrat, of First District, was born July 29, 1849, in Hernando County, Fla.; educated in the common schools of Florida; admitted to bar in October, 1872; state attorney for the sixth judicial circuit for nine years, from 1878 to 1887; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert Wyche Davis, Democrat, of Second District, was born in Lee County, Ga., March 15, 1849; educated in the common schools of his native State; read law and was admitted to the bar; removed to Florida in 1879; elected to the Legislature from Clay County of

the latter State in 1884; made general attorney for the Florida Southern Railroad Company in 1885; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

GEORGIA SENATORS.

Augustus Octavius Bacon, Democrat, of Macon, was born in Bryan County, Ga., October 20, 1839; received education at University of Georgia, in the literary and classical department in 1859, and in the law department in 1860; began practice in 1866 at Macon; in 1871 was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives, of which body he served as a member for fourteen years; elected to the United States Senate in November, 1894, for the term beginning March 4, 1895.

Alexander Stephens Clay, Democrat, of Marietta, Cobb County, Ga., was born September 25, 1853; graduated from Hiawassee College in 1875; admitted to the bar in September, 1877; elected a member of the City Council in 1880 and re-elected in 1881; in 1884-85 and 1886-87 represented Cobb County in the General Assembly of the State; re-elected for 1889-90; in 1892 was elected to the State Senate, and served as president of that body for two years; elected to the United States Senate, to succeed John B. Gordon, in October, 1896.

GEORGIA REPRESENTATIVES.

Rufus E. Lester, Democrat, of First District, was born in Burke County, Ga., December 12, 1837; graduated at Mercer University, Georgia, 1857; admitted to the bar in Savannah and commenced the practice of law in 1859; State Senator from the first senatorial district of Georgia, 1870-1879; mayor of Savannah from January, 1883, to January, 1889; elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James M. Griggs, Democrat, of Second District, was born at Lagrange, Ga., on March 29, 1861; educated at the Peabody Normal College, at Nashville, Tenn.; studied law; admitted to the bar in 1883; removed to Dawson in 1885; elected solicitor-general (prosecuting attorney) of the Pataula judicial circuit in 1888; re-elected in 1892; ap-

pointed judge of the same circuit, and twice re-elected without opposition; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Elijah Banks Lewis, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Dooly County, Ga., March 27, 1854; educated in the common schools of Dooly and Macon counties; elected to the State Senate for the years 1894-95; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress to succeed Hon. Charles F. Crisp, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Charles Adamson, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born at Bowdon, Ga., August 13, 1854; took the collegiate course at Bowdon College, graduating in 1874; read law; admitted to the bar October, 1876; judge of the city court of Carrollton from 1885 to 1889; attorney for the city of Carrollton for a number of years; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Leonidas Felix Livingston, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born in Newton County, Ga., April 3, 1832; educated in the common schools of the county; was for two terms a member of the House of Representatives and one term a member of the State Senate; was elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Lafayette Bartlett, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born at Monticello, Jasper County, Ga., on January 31, 1853; educated in the schools of Monticello and the University of Georgia; studied law at the University of Virginia and admitted to the bar in August, 1872; appointed solicitor-general (prosecuting attorney) for the Macon judicial court January 31, 1877; elected to the House of Representatives of Georgia in 1882 and 1883, and again in 1884 and 1885, and to the State Senate in 1889; elected judge of the Superior Court of the Macon circuit January 1, 1893; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John W. Maddox, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born on June 3, 1848, in Chattooga County, Ga.; received a common school education; admitted to the bar, September term, 1877; elected to the State Legislature, October, 1880, re-elected in 1882; elected to repre-

sent the forty-second senatorial district in 1884; elected judge of the Superior Court, Rome circuit, in November, 1886, and re-elected in November, 1890; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Marcellus Howard, Democrat, of Eighth District, Lexington, was born at Berwick City, La., of Georgia parents, December 6, 1857; graduated from the University of Georgia; began practice of law February, 1880; elected solicitor-general of the northern circuit of Georgia, 1884; re-elected in 1888 and in 1892; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Farish Carter Tate, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born at Jasper, Pickens County, Ga., November 20, 1856; educated in the North Georgia Agricultural College; admitted to the bar in 1880; member of the General Assembly of Georgia six years; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Henry Fleming, Democrat, of Tenth District, was born at Augusta, Richmond County, Ga., on October 18, 1856; educated at the State University at Athens, Ga.; admitted to the bar in November, 1880; elected to the State Legislature, 1888, 1890 and 1892; again elected in 1894; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress by a majority of 2,914 votes, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Gordon Brantley, Democrat, of Eleventh District, was born at Blackshear, Pierce County, Ga., on September 18, 1860; educated in common schools, with two years at University of Georgia; admitted to the bar in October, 1881; represented Pierce County in Georgia House of Representatives in 1884-85; represented third senatorial district in Georgia Senate in 1886-87; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

IDAHO SENATORS.

George Laird Shoup, Republican, of Boise, was born at Kittanning, Armstrong County, Pa., June 15, 1836; educated in the public schools of Freeport and Slate Lick; was appointed governor of Idaho Territory in March, 1889, which position he held until elected gov-

ernor of the State of Idaho, October 1, 1890; elected to the United States Senate, December 18, 1890, and took his seat December 29, 1890; was re-elected in 1895.

Henry Heitfeld, Populist, of Lewiston, was born in St. Louis, Mo., January 12, 1859; received his early education in the schools of that city; located in Idaho in 1883; elected State Senator in 1894 and re-elected in 1896; elected United States Senator, January 28, 1897.

IDAHO REPRESENTATIVE.

Edgar Wilson, Silver Republican, of Boise City, was born in Armstrong County, Pa., February 25, 1861; graduated in the law department of Michigan University in the Class of 1884; went to Idaho the same year and located at Boise City; elected city attorney of Boise City in 1887, and district attorney in 1888; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

ILLINOIS SENATORS.

Shelby M. Cullom, Republican, of Springfield, was born in Wayne County, Ky., November 22, 1829; went to Springfield, Ill., in the fall of 1853 to study law; elected a member of the House of Representatives, 1856, 1860, 1872 and 1874; elected a Representative from Illinois in the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses; elected governor of Illinois in 1876 and succeeded himself in 1880; elected to the United States Senate; took his seat December 4, 1883; was re-elected in 1888 and again in 1894.

William E. Mason, Republican, of Chicago, was born in Franklinville, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., July 7, 1850; went to Chicago in 1873, and has practiced law there ever since; elected to the General Assembly in 1879, to the State Senate in 1881; was elected to the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses; elected to the United States Senate, January 20, 1897.

ILLINOIS REPRESENTATIVES.

James R. Mann, Republican, of First District, was born in 1856; graduate of the University of Illinois, and the Union College of Law

in Chicago; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Lorimer, Republican, of Second District, was born in Manchester, England, April 27, 1861; came to this country and settled in Chicago in 1870; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George P. Foster, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Dover, N. J., April 3, 1860; came to Chicago when seven years of age; graduated from Union College of Law of Chicago in 1882; admitted to the bar the same year; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thomas Cusack, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Ireland, October 5, 1858; attended private and public schools in Chicago and New York; member of the Board of Education of Chicago from 1891 until 1898; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward T. Noonan, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born in Macomb, Ill., October 23, 1861; studied law; admitted to the bar in 1882; member of the State Senate of Illinois from 1890 to 1894; in 1898 was elected as a member of the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry Sherman Boutell, Republican, of Sixth District, was born in Boston, Mass., March 14, 1856; graduated from Harvard University in 1876; admitted to the bar in 1879; elected a member of the Illinois General Assembly in 1884; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George Edmund Ross, Republican, of Seventh District, was born at Berkshire, Franklin County, Vt., July 2, 1863; graduated from Harvard College in 1885; graduated from the Union College of Law of Chicago in 1889; admitted to the bar the same year; re-elected to the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

Albert J. Hopkins, Republican, of Eighth District, was born in Dekalb County, Ill., August 15, 1846; graduated at Hillsdale (Mich.) College in June, 1870; studied law and commenced practice at Aurora, Ill.; state's attorney of Kane County from 1872 to 1876; elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert Roberts Hitt, Republican, of Ninth District, was born at Urbana, Ohio, January 16, 1834; removed to Ogle County, Ill., in 1837; educated at De Pauw University; Assistant Secretary of State in 1881; elected to the Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George W. Prince, Republican, of Tenth District, was born March 4, 1854, in Tazewell County, Ill.; graduated from Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., in 1878; admitted to the bar in 1880; elected city attorney of Galesburg in 1881; elected a member of the Lower House of the General Assembly of Illinois in 1888; re-elected in 1890; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Walter Reeves, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born September 25, 1848, near Brownsville, Pa.; removed to Illinois in 1856; became a teacher and a lawyer; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph G. Cannon, Republican, of Twelfth District, was born at Guilford, N. C., May 7, 1836; is a lawyer; was state's attorney in Illinois, March, 1861, to December, 1868; elected to the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Vespasian Warner, Republican, of Thirteenth District, was born at Mount Pleasant, Dewitt County, Ill., April 23, 1842; in 1843 removed to Clinton, Ill.; attended Lombard University, Galesburg, Ill.; served in Union Army and on the plains; on leaving the service he entered the law department of Harvard University, from which he graduated in 1868; returned to Clinton and commenced the practice of law; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph V. Graff, Republican, of Fourteenth District, was born at Terre Haute, Ind., July 1, 1854; graduated at the Terre Haute High School; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1879; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Benjamin F. Marsh, Republican, of Fifteenth District, was born in Wythe Township, in said county; admitted to the bar in 1860; in 1876 was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress from the then tenth district, and was re-elected to the Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Congresses; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Elza Williams, Democrat, of Sixteenth District, was born at Detroit, May 5, 1857; educated in Illinois College; entered the legal profession; elected to the office of state's attorney 1886; re-elected in 1888; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Ben Franklin Caldwell, Democrat, of Seventeenth District, was born near Carrollton, Greene County, Ill., August 2, 1848; member of the Illinois House of Representatives 1882-86; member of the Illinois State Senate 1890-94; was renominated by the Democrats for Congress in 1898 and defeated Isaac R. Mills, of Macon County, by a plurality of 2,240.

Thomas M. Jett, Democrat, of Eighteenth District, was born on a farm in Bond County, Ill., May 1, 1862; attended college two years at the Northern Indiana Normal School, Valparaiso, Ind.; read law; admitted to practice in May, 1887; elected state's attorney of Montgomery County, Ill., in 1889; served two terms, covering a period of about eight years; elected to Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph B. Crowley, Democrat, of Nineteenth District, was born July 19, 1858, in Coshocton, Ohio; removed with his parents to Robinson in 1872, and was educated in the common schools; admitted to the bar in May, 1883; elected county judge of Crawford County in November, 1886, and re-elected in 1890; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Robert Williams, Democrat, of Twentieth District, was born in White County, Ill., December 27, 1850; graduated from the State University of Indiana and the Union College of Law, Chicago; master in chancery from 1880 to 1882; county judge from 1882 to 1886; a member of the Fifty-first, Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William A. Rodenberg, Republican, of Twenty-first District, was born near Chester, Randolph County, Ill., October 30, 1865; graduated from Central Wesleyan College in 1884; attended the St. Louis Law School, and admitted to the bar; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George W. Smith, Republican, of Twenty-second District, was born in Putnam County, Ohio, August 18, 1846; graduated from the literary department of McKendree College, at Lebanon, Ill., in 1868; read law in Fairfield, Ill.; elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

INDIANA SENATORS.

Charles Warren Fairbanks, Republican, of Indianapolis, was born on a farm near Unionville Centre, Union County, Ohio, May 11, 1852; educated in the common schools of the neighborhood and at the Ohio Wesleyan University; admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1874; removed to Indianapolis in the same year; elected to the United States Senate, January 20, 1897, to succeed Daniel W. Voorhees, Democrat, and took his seat March 4, 1897.

Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, Republican, was born on a farm in Highland County, Ohio, October 6, 1862; was elected to the Senate of the United States by the sixty-first General Assembly of the State of Indiana, January 17, 1899.

INDIANA REPRESENTATIVES.

James A. Hemenway, Republican, of First District, was born March 8, 1860, at Boonville, Ind.; educated in the common schools; commenced the practice of law in 1885; in 1886 and again in 1888 was elected prosecuting attorney of the second judicial circuit of Indiana; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert W. Miers, Democrat, of Second District, was born in Decatur County, Ind., January 27, 1848; graduate of both the literary and the law departments of Indiana University; elected prose-

cuting attorney for the tenth judicial circuit of Indiana in 1875 and re-elected in 1877; was elected to the House of Representatives of the Indiana Legislature in 1879; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected a member of the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William T. Zenor, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Harrison County, Ind.; educated at the seminary of Professor James G. May; admitted to the bar in 1870, at Corydon; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Francis Marion Griffith, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Switzerland County, Ind., August 21, 1849; educated at Franklin College; admitted to the bar in May, 1877; served as State Senator from 1886 to 1894; elected to Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

George W. Faris, Republican, of Fifth District, was born in Jasper County, Ind., June 9, 1854; in 1872 he entered Asbury University, and graduated with his class in 1877; read law; was admitted to the bar; in 1880 removed to Terre Haute; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress from the eighth district, and elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress from the present fifth district, the State having been reapportioned in 1895, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James E. Watson, Republican, of Sixth District, was born in Winchester, Randolph County, Ind., November 2, 1864; graduated from the Winchester High School in 1881; admitted to the bar in 1886; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress over the veteran William S. Holman, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Jesse Overstreet, Republican, of Seventh District, was born in Johnson County, Ind., December 14, 1859; received collegiate education, and was admitted to the bar in 1886; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George Washington Cromer, Republican, of Eighth District, was born May 13, 1856, in Madison County, Ind.; educated in the State University at Bloomington, Ind.; elected prosecuting attorney of the forty-sixth judicial circuit of Indiana in 1886; re-elected in 1888; elected mayor of Muncie in 1894; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles B. Landis, Republican, of Ninth District, was born July 9, 1858, in Millville, Butler County, Ohio; graduated from Wabash

College, Ind., in 1883; served for four years, from 1883 to 1887, as editor of the Logansport (Ind.) *Journal;* elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edgar D. Crumpacker, Republican, of Tenth District, was born May 27, 1851, in Laporte County, Ind.; educated at the Valparaiso Academy; admitted to the bar in 1876; prosecuting attorney for the thirty-first judicial district of Indiana from 1884 to 1888; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George W. Steele, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born in Indiana; educated at the Ohio Western University; member of the Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and was re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James M. Robinson, Democrat, of Twelfth District, was born in 1861; attended country school and later the public schools in Fort Wayne; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1882; in 1886 and 1888 was unanimously nominated for prosecuting attorney and elected; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Abraham Lincoln Brick, Republican, of Thirteenth District, was born in St. Joseph County, Ind., May 27, 1860; attended Cornell, Yale and Michigan universities; after being graduated from the law department of the Michigan University in 1883, immediately took up the practice of the law in South Bend; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

IOWA SENATORS.

Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, Republican, of Fort Dodge, was born near Kingwood, Preston County, Va., February 6, 1858; graduated in 1875 from the West Virginia University; admitted to the bar in 1878; elected to the Fifty-first Congress as a representative from the tenth congressional district of Iowa; member of the House also in the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth, and Fifty-sixth Congresses; July 22, 1900, was appointed Senator to fill the unexpired term of Hon. J. H. Gear, deceased, and took his seat in the United States Senate December 3, 1900.

William Boyd Allison, Republican, of Dubuque, was born at Perry Ohio, March 2, 1829, educated at the Western Reserve College, Ohio; studied law and practiced in Ohio until he removed to Iowa in 1857; elected a Representative in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, and re-elected to the United States Senate to succeed James Harlan, Republican; took his seat March 4, 1873, and was re-elected in 1878, 1884, 1890 and 1896.

IOWA REPRESENTATIVES.

Thomas Hedge, Republican, of First District, was born in the town of Burlington, Territory of Iowa, June 24, 1844; graduated from Yale College in 1867 and from Columbia College Law School, New York, in 1869; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joe R. Lane, Republican, of Second District, was born at Davenport, Iowa, May 6, 1858; educated at Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.; studied law at the State University of Iowa; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

David Bremner Henderson, Republican, of Third District, was born at Old Deer, Scotland, March 14, 1840; brought to Iowa in 1849; educated at Upper Iowa University; admitted to the bar in the fall of 1865; assistant United States district attorney for the northern division of the district of Iowa about two years, resigning in 1871; elected to the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Gilbert N. Haugen, Republican, of Fourth District, was born April 21, 1859, in Rock County, Wis.; received a common-school education; elected treasurer of Worth County in 1887; elected to the Iowa Legislature, serving in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth general assemblies; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congrss.

Robert G. Cousins, Republican, of Fifth District, was born in Cedar County, Iowa, in 1859; graduated at Cornell, Iowa, in 1881; admitted to the bar in 1882; in 1886 was elected to the Iowa Legislature; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Fletcher Lacey, Republican, of Sixth District, was born at New Martinsville, Va., May 30, 1841; removed to Iowa in 1855; received a common-school and academic education; served one term in city council; one term as city solicitor of Oskaloosa; was a member of the Fifty-first, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John A. T. Hull, Republican, of Seventh District, was born at Sabina, Clinton County, Ohio, May 1, 1841; removed with his parents to Iowa in 1849; educated in public schools, Asbury (Ind.) University, and Iowa Wesleyan College; graduated from the Cincinnati (Ohio) Law School in the spring of 1862; elected Secretary of State in 1878 and re-elected in 1880 and 1882; elected lieutenant-governor in 1885 and re-elected in 1887; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Peters Hepburn, Republican, of Eighth District, was born November 4, 1833, at Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio; admitted to practice law in 1854; served as solicitor of the treasury during the administration of President Benjamin Harrison; elected to the Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Walter I. Smith, Republican, of Ninth District, was born at Council Bluffs, July 10, 1862; received a common-school education; was admitted to bar December, 1882; elected judge of the fifteenth judicial district of Iowa in November, 1890, and re-elected in 1894 and in 1898; was elected, in November, 1900, to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Perry Conner, Republican, of Tenth District, was born in Delaware County, Ind., January 27, 1851; graduated from the law department of the State University at Iowa City, in June, 1873; in 1880 elected district attorney of the thirteenth judicial district; in 1884 elected circuit judge of the thirteenth judicial district of Iowa; in 1886 was elected district judge of the sixteenth judicial district of Iowa; on September 26, 1900, was nominated to the Fifty-sixth Congress, and elected.

Lot Thomas, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born on the 17th of October, 1843, in Fayette County, Pa.; on the 1st of January, 1870, entered the law department of the Iowa State University admitted to the bar while in Iowa City; 1885 went on the bench of the fourteenth judicial district of Iowa; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

KANSAS SENATORS.

Lucien Baker, Republican, of Leavenworth, was born in Ohio in 1846, and shortly thereafter removed with his parents to Michigan; in 1869 he removed to Kansas and settled in Leavenworth, where he has since resided, engaged in the practice of law; was elected to the United States Senate in 1895.

William Alexander Harris, Populist, of Linwood, Leavenworth County, was born in Loudoun County, Va., October 29, 1841; graduated at Columbian College, Washington, D. C., in 1859; removed to Kansas in 1865; elected to the Fifty-third Congress, at large, as a Populist, and endorsed by the Democrats; was renominated for the Fifty-fourth Congress, but was defeated at the election; elected to the State Senate November, 1896, and was elected in January, 1897, to the United States Senate and took his seat March 4, 1897.

KANSAS REPRESENTATIVES.

Willis J. Bailey, Republican, Representative-at-Large, was born October 12, 1854, in Carroll County, Ill.; educated in the University of Illinois; moved to Nemaha County, Kans., in 1879; elected to the Kansas Legislature in 1888; on November 8, 1898, was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Curtis, Republican, of First District, was born in North Topeka, Shawnee County, Kans., January 25, 1860; studied law, and admitted to the bar in 1881; elected county attorney of Shawnee County in 1884 and re-elected in 1886; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses from the Fourth Kansas District; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress for First District.

Justin De Witt Bowersock, Republican, of Second District, was born in Columbiana County, Ohio, September 19, 1842; moved to

Lawrence, Kans., in 1877; twice elected mayor of Lawrence; served in the Kansas House of Representatives in 1877; State Senate in 1895; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edwin Reed Ridgely, Populist, of Third District, was born May 9, 1844, in Wabash County, Ill.; moved to Girard Kans.,; nominated by the People's and Democratic parties and elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Monroe Miller, Republican, of Fourth District, was born at Three Springs, Huntingdon County, Pa.; educated at Dickinson Seminary as a lawyer; elected county attorney of Morris County, Kans., in 1880; re-elected in 1884 and 1886; elected a member of the Kansas Legislature in 1894; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William A. Calderhead, Republican, of Fifth District, was born in Perry County, Ohio, September 26, 1844; educated at Franklin College, New Athens, Ohio; in 1872 settled on a homestead near Newton, Harvey County, Kans.; admitted to the bar in 1875; elected county attorney in the fall of 1888; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress; renominated in 1898, and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Augustus Reeder, Republican, of Sixth District, was born August 28, 1849, in Cumberland County, Pa.; engaged in the banking business in the city of Logan, Kans.; in 1898 was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Chester I. Long, Republican, of Seventh District, was born in Perry County, Pa., October 12, 1860; removed to Paola, Kans.; received an academic education; studied law, and was admitted to the bar March 4, 1885; elected to the State Senate in 1889; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

KENTUCKY SENATORS.

William Lindsay, Democrat, of Frankfort, was born in Rockbridge County, Va., September 4, 1835; settled in Clinton, Hickman County, Ky., in November, 1854; commenced the practice of law in 1858; elected State Senator for the Hickman District in August, 1867; elected judge of the Kentucky Court of Appeals in August, 1870; elected State Senator for the Frankfort District in August, 1889;

elected United States Senator on February 14, 1893; re-elected in January, 1894, for the full term commencing March 4, 1895.

William J. Deboe, Republican, of Marion, was born in Crittenden County, Ky., in 1849; graduated from the Medical University of Louisville; admitted to the bar; in 1893 was elected to the State Senate; in 1896 was a delegate from the State, at large, to the St. Louis convention; elected to the United States Senate in 1897.

KENTUCKY REPRESENTATIVES.

Charles Kennedy Wheeler, Democrat, of First District, was born in Christian County, Ky., April 18, 1863; graduated from the Lebanon Law School, of Lebanon, Tenn., in the summer of 1880; located at Paducah, Ky., in August, 1880; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry D. Allen, Democrat, of Second District, was born in Henderson County, Ky., June 24, 1854 educated at Morganfield Collegiate Institute; admitted to the bar in July, 1878; elected county attorney, and served in that capacity for nine years; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John S. Rhea, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Russellville, Logan County, Ky., March 9, 1855; educated at Bethel College, Russellville, Ky., and Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.; licensed to practice law in the fall of 1873; elected prosecuting attorney for Logan County in 1878 and 1882; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

David Highbaugh Smith, Democrat of Fourth District, was born December 19, 1854, in Hart County, Ky.; educated at the colleges at Horse Cave, Leitchfield and Hartford, all in Kentucky, has been practicing law since March, 1876; elected county attorney for Larue County at the August election, 1878; in 1881 elected to represent Larue County in the House of Representatives; in the State Senate for the term of four years; re-elected at the August, 1889, election for four years; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Oscar Turner, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born at Woodlands, Ballard County, Ky., October 19, 1867; attended the Louisville Rugby School for three or four years; studied law at the University of Louisville and the University of Virginia; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Albert Seaton Berry, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in Campbell County, Ky.; educated at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; attended Cincinnati Law School; served two terms in the State Senate and five terms as mayor of Newport; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

June W. Gayle, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born at New Liberty, Owen County, Ky., February 22, 1865; received his early education at Concord College, New Liberty, Ky., finishing his course at Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky.; in 1892 was elected high sheriff of Owen County; re-elected in 1894 and in 1899; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress at the special election, December 18, 1899.

George Gilmore Gilbert, Democrat, of Eighth District, was born in Spencer County, Ky.; educated at Lyndland Institute, in Kentucky; attended University of Louisville and graduated from the law department in 1873; elected county attorney of Spencer County in 1876; elected to the State Senate in 1885; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Samuel Johnson Pugh, Republican, of Ninth District, was born in Greenup County, Ky., January 28, 1850; educated at Chandler's Select School, Rand's Academy and Centre College, Danville, Ky.; has been practicing law since 1872; elected county judge, 1886-1890; State Senator, 1893-94; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thomas Young Fitzpatrick, Democrat, of Tenth District, was born in Floyd County, Ky., September 20, 1850; educated in the common schools; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1877; has filled the positions of circuit and county court clerk, county judge, county attorney and Representative in the State Legislature; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Vincent Boreing, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born November 24, 1839, in Washington County, Tenn.; educated at Laurel Seminary, London, Ky., and Tusculum College, Greenville, Tenn.; elected county judge in 1886; department commander of the Department of Kentucky, Grand Army of the Republic, in 1889; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

LOUISIANA SENATORS.

Donelson Caffery, Democrat, of Franklin, St. Mary Parish, was born in the parish of St. Mary, La., September 10, 1835; educated at St. Mary's College, Maryland; studied law in Louisiana and was admitted to the bar; elected to Senate in 1892; elected by the Legislature in 1894 to fill out the term of Randall Lee Gibson; and March 3, 1895, to succeed himself for the long term.

Samuel Douglas McEnery, Democrat, of New Orleans, was born at Monroe, La., May, 28, 1837; educated at Spring Hill College, the United States Naval Academy and the University of Virginia; graduated from State and National Law School, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; nominated by the Democratic party for governor, and elected in 1884; nominated by Democratic caucus for Senator at the session of the Legislature in 1896, and elected; took his seat March 4, 1897.

LOUISIANA REPRESENTATIVES.

Adolph Meyer, Democrat, of First District, was born October 19, 1842; student at the University of Virginia until 1862; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert C. Davey, Democrat, of Second District, was born in New Orleans October 22, 1853; entered St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Mo., in 1869, and graduated in 1871; elected a member of the State Senate December, 1879, and re-elected April, 1884, and again elected in April, 1892; elected judge of the first recorder's court November, 1880; re-elected November, 1882; re-elected April, 1884, and served until May, 1888; elected to the Fifty-third Congress; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert F. Broussard, Democrat, of Third District,was born August 17, 1864, near New Iberia, parish of Iberia, La.; attended Georgetown University, West Washington, D. C., where he remained until 1882; became the nominee of the Anti-Lottery wing of the Democratic party for the district attorneyship; elected at the State election of 1892; 1894 renominated to the same position by the Democratic party, and re-elected at the election of that year; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Phanor Breazeale, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Natchitoches Parish, La., December 29, 1858; attended law lectures at Tulane University; received his diploma as a lawyer in 1881; edited a newspaper in Natchitoches for two years; elected district attorney of the tenth judicial district in 1892, and was re-elected in 1896; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph Eugene Ransdell, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born in Alexandria, La., on October 7, 1858, of John H. Ransdell and Amanda Terrell; graduated at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in June, 1882; admitted to the bar in June, 1883; elected district attorney of the eighth judicial district of Louisiana in April, 1884 elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress in 1897.

Samuel Matthews Robertson, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in the town of Plaquemine, La., January 1, 1852; graduated from the Louisiana State University in 1874; completed a course of law study, and was admitted to practice in 1877; elected a member of the State Legislature in 1879 for a term of four years; in 1880 elected a member of the faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College; filled the chair of natural history in that institution and the position of commandant of cadets until he was elected to the Fiftieth Congress; elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and unanimously re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

MAINE SENATORS.

William Pierce Frye, Republican, was born at Lewiston, Me., September 2, 1831. His father was Colonel John M. Frye one of the

early settlers and most respected citizens of the town. His grandfather was General Joseph Frye, a general in the American army during the Revolutionary War. For his military services he received a grant of the town of Fryeburg Me. William P. graduated at Bowdoin College, Me., in 1860, and began practicing law in 1863.

In Public Life.—He was a member of the State Legislature in 1861, 1862 and 1867. In the latter year he was elected attorney-general of the State, and served for three years.

In Congress.—In 1871 he was elected to Congress, and in 1872, 1876 and 1880 he was a member of the National Republican Executive Committee. In the same years he was chosen as a delegate to the National Repulican Conventions. In 1881 he was elected chairman of the Republican State Committee to succeed James G. Blaine. In 1880 he was elected a trustee of Bowdoin College, from which he received the degree of LL. D., in 1889.

In the Senate.—From 1871 he was elected continuously to Congress until 1881, when he was elected to the United States Senate. He was re-elected in 1883, 1888 and 1895. Was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate in 1896, and served as a member of the Paris peace treaty in 1898.

Acting Vice-President.—Upon the death of Vice-President Hobart, in 1899, Mr. Frye assumed the duties of his office, as presiding officer of the Senate. In the House Mr. Frye was always an active member of leading committees.

Committee Service.—In the Senate he has for years been chairman of the committees on Commerce and Rules, and member of that on Foreign Relations. He has always taken a keen interest in debates and reports, and has never been out of demand as a campaign orator, having participated in every national campaign for forty years and spoken in nearly every Northern State.

Eugene Hale, Republican, of Ellsworth, was born at Turner, Oxford County, Me., June 9, 1836; received an academic education; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1857; member of Legislature of Maine in 1867, 1868 and 1880; elected to the Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses; re-elected to the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses; elected to the United States Senate, to succeed Hannibal Hamlin, Republican, and took his seat March 4, 1881; was re-elected in 1887, 1893 and in 1899.

MAINE REPRESENTATIVES.

Amos L. Allen, Republican, of First District, was born in Waterborough, York County, Me., March 17, 1837; entered Whitestown Seminary, Whitestown, N. Y., in 1853, and the Sophomore Class of Bowdoin College in 1857, graduating in 1860; studied law at Alfred, and attended the Columbian Law School in Washington, D. C.,; was admitted to the bar of York County in 1866; member of the Maine Legislature in 1886-87; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, November 6, 1899, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. T. B. Reed.

Charles E. Littlefield, Republican, of Second District, was born June 21, 1851, in Lebanon, York County, Me.; received a common-school education and studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1876; was a member of the Maine Legislature in 1885, and Speaker of the House in 1887; attorney-general of the State from 1889 to 1893; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress June 19, 1899.

Edwin C. Burleigh, Republican, of Third District, was born at Linneus, Aroostook County, Me., November 27, 1843; received a common-school and academic education; state treasurer 1885 to 1888; governor of Maine 1889 to 1892, inclusive; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Addison Boutelle, Republican, of Fourth District, was born at Damariscotta, Lincoln County, Me., February 9, 1839; educated in the public schools at Brunswick and at Yarmouth Academy; elected Representative-at-Large to the Forty-eighth Congress; elected as Representative from the Fourth District to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress; died 1901.

MARYLAND SENATORS.

George L. Wellington, Republican, of Cumberland, was born of German parentage at Cumberland, Allegany County, Md., January 28, 1852; attended a German school for a brief period, otherwise self-educated; was appointed by President Harrison assistant treasurer of the United States at Baltimore in July, 1890; elected to the Fifty-

fourth Congress; was elected to the United States Senate and took his seat March 4, 1897.

Louis Emory McComas, Republican, of Williamsport, was born in Washington County, Md.; educated at St. James College, Maryland, and at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania; studied law, and was admitted to the bar at Hagerstown, Md., in 1868; elected to the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses; appointed by President Harrison an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, which office he held until he was elected to the Senate to succeed Arthur P. Gorman, Democrat, and took his seat March 4, 1899.

MARYLAND REPRESENTATIVES.

Josiah Leeds Kerr, Republican, of First District, was born in the town of Vienna, Md., January 10, 1861; received his education at the public schools of Vienna and at Vienna Academy; nominated for the unexpired term of John Walter Smith in the Fifty-sixth Congress and elected.

William B. Baker, Republican, of Second District, was born near Aberdeen, Md., July 22, 1840; educated at public and private schools; elected to the House of Delegates as a Republican in 1881 and to the State Senate in 1893; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Frank C. Wachter, Republican, of Third District, was born in Baltimore, September 16, 1861 educated at private schools nominated in 1898 as Representative to the Fifty-sixth Congress, to which he was elected.

James W. Denny, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in the valley of Virginia, and is fifty-eight years old; was three years at the University of Virginia; member of the House of Delegates of Maryland in 1888; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Sydney Emanuel Mudd, Republican, of Fifth District, was born February 12, 1858, in Charles County, Md.; educated at Georgetown (D. C.) College and St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.; attended the law department of the University of Virginia; was admitted to the bar

in 1880; was elected to the State House of Delegates in 1879 and re-elected in 1881; elected to the Fifty-first and defeated for the Fifty-second Congress; elected to the State House of Delegates in 1895; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George Alexander Pearre, Republican, of Sixth District, was born in Cumberland July 16, 1860; educated at Princeton College and the University of West Virginia; admitted to the bar upon examination in the Superior Court in Baltimore City; elected to the State Senate of Maryland and served in the sessions of 1890 and 1892; 1895 was nominated prosecuting attorney by the Republican party and elected; elected to Fifty-sixth Congress.

MASSACHUSETTS SENATORS.

George Frisbie Hoar, Republican, of Worcester, was born at Concord, Mass., August 29, 1826; graduated at Harvard College in 1846; studied law and graduated at the Dane Law School, Harvard University; a member of the State House of Representatives in 1852, and of the State Senate in 1857; elected Representative to the Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses; elected to the United States Senate, to succeed George S. Boutwell; took his seat March 5, 1877, and was re-elected in 1883, 1889 and 1895.

Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican, of Nahant, was born in Boston, Mass., May 12, 1850; graduated from Harvard College 1871; studied law at Harvard Law School and graduated in 1875, receiving the degree of LL. B.; was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1876; author of many standard works: served two terms as member of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Legislature; elected to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses; elected to the Senate January 17, 1893; re-elected in 1899.

MASSACHUSETTS REPRESENTATIVES.

George Pelton Lawrence, Republican, of First District, was born in Adams, Mass., May 19, 1859; graduated at Drury Academy, 1876, and at Amherst College 1880; studied law at Columbia Law School;

was admitted to the bar in 1883; appointed judge of the district court of northern Berkshire in 1885; in 1894 elected to the Massachusetts Senate; was a member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1895, 1896 and 1897; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Frederick Huntington Gillett, Republican, of Second District, was born at Westfield, Mass., October 16, 1851; graduated at Amherst College in 1874, and at Harvard Law School in 1877; was admitted to the bar in Springfield in 1877; assistant attorney-general of Massachusetts from 1879 to 1882; was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1890 and 1891; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John R. Thayer, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Douglas, Mass., March 9, 1845; entered Yale College in 1865, and graduated in the Class of 1869; admitted to the bar in 1871; was elected to the Massachusetts Senate for two terms, in 1890 and 1891; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George Warren Weymouth, Republican, of Fourth District, was born August 25, 1850, at West Amesbury; educated in the public schools, graduating from the high school of that place; one year in the State Legislature of 1896; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Shadrach Knox, Republican, of Fifth District, was born in Killingly, Conn., September 10, 1843; graduated at Amherst College in Class of 1865; admitted to Essex bar in November, 1866; Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1874-75; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Henry Moody, Republican of Sixth District, was born in Newbury, Mass., December 23, 1853; was graduated at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., in 1872, and from Harvard University in 1876; is a lawyer by profession; district attorney for the eastern district of Massachusetts from 1890 to 1895; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Ernest W. Roberts, Republican, of Seventh District, was born in East Madison, Me., November 22, 1858; graduated at Boston University Law School, and admitted to the bar in 1881; elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives of 1894, 1895 and 1896; elected a member of the Massachusetts Senate of 1897 and 1898; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Samuel Walker McCall, Republican, of Eighth District, was born in East Providence, Pa., February 28, 1851; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1874; admitted to the bar, and since 1876 has practiced law in Boston; was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives of 1888, 1889 and 1892; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Francis Fitzgerald, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born in Boston February 11, 1865; he received his education in the Eliot Grammar and the Boston Latin schools and Boston College; elected a member of the Massachusetts State Senate in 1893 and 1894; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry Francis Naphen, Democrat, of Tenth District, was born in Ireland August 14, 1847; came to Massachusetts when a child; educated in the public schools and under private tutors; admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1880; State Senator for the years 1885 and 1886 from the fifth Suffolk district; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Franklin Sprague, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born in Boston, Mass., June 10, 1857; graduated from Harvard University in 1879; subsequently studied law at the Harvard Law School and Boston University; in 1891 and 1892 was in the Massachusetts House of Representatives; in 1895 and 1896 was a member of the Massachusetts Senate; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William C. Lovering, Republican, of Twelfth District, was born about sixty years ago in Rhode Island; was educated in Cambridge, Mass.; was State Senator for two years, 1874-75; nominated by acclamation in the congressional convention of the twelfth district

September 22, 1896, and elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Stedman Greene, Republican, of Thirteenth District, was born in Tremont, Tazewell County, Ill., April 28, 1841; removed to Fall River in 1844; educated in the public schools of that city; appointed postmaster by President McKinley, and entered upon his duties April 1, 1898; resigned this position and was elected to Congress May 31, 1898, to fill the unexpired term of the late John Simpkins for the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

MICHIGAN SENATORS.

James McMillan, Republican, of Detroit, was born in Hamilton, Ontario, May 12, 1838; removed to Detroit in 1855; in 1879 succeeded Zachariah Chandler as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and was chairman in 1886, 1890, 1892 and 1894; elected to the United States Senate to succeed Thomas Witherell Palmer, and took his seat March 4, 1889. In 1895 he received every vote in the joint legislative convention for re-election.

Julius C. Burrows, Republican, of Kalamazoo, was born at Northeast, Erie County, Pa., January 9, 1837; received a common-school and academic education; by profession a lawyer; elected to the Forty-third, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses; twice elected speaker *pro tempore* of the House of Representatives during the Fifty-first Congress; elected to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress; resigned his seat in the House January 23, 1895, to assume the office of United States Senator from Michigan, to which he had been elected by the Legislature to fill out the unexpired term of Francis B. Stockbridge, deceased, and took his seat in the Senate the same day: was re-elected in 1899 for the full term of six years, receiving every vote of the Republican members of the Legislature.

MICHIGAN REPRESENTATIVES.

John B. Corliss, Republican, of First District, was born at Richford, Vt.; educated at the Vermont Methodist University; studied

law at the Columbian Law School, Washington, D. C., and graduated from that institution in 1875; in September of the same year he settled in Detroit and engaged in the practice of law; was elected city attorney of Detroit in 1881 and re-elected in 1883; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry Cassorte Smith, Republican, of Second District, was born in Canandaigua, N. Y., June 2, 1859; entered Adrian College; graduated in June, 1878; read law, and was admitted to the bar September 25, 1880; appointed city attorney October 2, 1880, and assistant prosecuting attorney January 1, 1881; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Washington Gardner, Republican, of Third District, was born in Morrow County, Ohio; graduated from the Ohio Wesleyan University 1870; studied in the School of Theology, Boston University, 1870-71; graduated from the Albany Law School; professor in and public lecturer for Albion College, 1889; appointed by Governor John T. Rich, Secretary of State, in March, 1894, and was subsequently twice elected to succeed himself; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward La Rue Hamilton, Republican, of Fourth District, was born in Niles Township, Berrien County, Mich., December 9, 1857; admitted to the bar in 1884; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Alden Smith, Republican, of Fifth District, was born at Dowagiac, Mich., May 12, 1859; received a common-school education; studied law, and admitted to the bar in 1883; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Samuel W. Smith, Republican, of Sixth District, was born in the township of Independence, Oakland County, Mich., August 23, 1852; educated at Clarkston and Detroit; graduated in the law department of the University of Michigan; in 1880 was elected prosecuting attorney of Oakland County, and re-elected in 1882; in 1884 elected State Senator; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edgar Weeks, Republican, of Seventh District, was born at Mount Clemens, Mich., August 3, 1839; learned printer's art; studied law, and admitted to bar January, 1861; served on Union side during Civil War, and retired with rank of captain; resumed practice of law; twice elected as district attorney; elected to Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph W. Fordney, Republican, of Eighth District, was born in Blackford County, Ind., November 5, 1853; received a common-school education; came to Saginaw in June, 1869; was vice-president of the Saginaw Board of Trade; elected alderman in 1895, and re-elected in 1897; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Roswell P. Bishop, Republican, of Ninth District, was born at Sidney, Delaware County, N. Y., January 6, 1843; admitted to the bar in May, 1875, at Ann Arbor; elected prosecuting attorney of Mason County, 1876, 1878 and 1884; elected to the Michigan Legislature 1882 and 1892; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Rousseau O. Crump, Republican, of Tenth District, was born in Pittsford, Monroe County, N. Y., May 20, 1843; and received his education in the Pittsford and Rochester schools; established his first home in Plainwell, Mich.; in 1892 was nominated and elected mayor of West Bay City, and was re-elected in 1894; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William S. Mesick, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born August 26, 1856, at Newark, Wayne County, N. Y.; educated in the common schools, Kalamazoo (Mich.) Business College, and the University of Michigan; admitted to the bar in 1881; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Carlos Douglas Shelden, Republican, of Twelfth District, was born in Walworth, Walworth County, Wis., June 10, 1840; seven years later he moved with his parents to Houghton County, Lake Superior district, Michigan; educated in the Union School, Ypsilanti, Mich.; elected to the State Senate in 1894; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

MINNESOTA SENATORS.

Knute Nelson, Republican, of Alexandria, was born in Norway February 2, 1843; came to the United States in July, 1849; removed to Minnesota in July, 1871; admitted to the bar in the spring of 1867; member of the Assembly in the Wisconsin Legislature in 1868 and 1869; was county attorney of Douglas County, Minn., in 1872, 1873 and 1874; was State Senator in 1875, 1876, 1877 and 1878; member of the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses for the fifth district of Minnesota; elected governor of Minnesota in the fall of 1892, and re-elected in the fall of 1894; elected United States Senator for Minnesota January 23, 1895, for the term commencing March 4, 1895.

Charles A. Towne, Democrat, of Duluth, was born November 21, 1858, in Oakland County, Mich.; educated in common schools and the University of Michigan; admitted to the bar in 1886; removed to Duluth in 1890; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress as a Republican; left the Republican party upon the adoption of the gold standard programme by the St. Louis convention, in June, 1896; was appointed by Governor Lind to the United States Senate December 5, 1900.

MINNESOTA REPRESENTATIVES.

James A. Tawney, Republican, of First District, was born in Mount Pleasant Township, near Gettysburg, Adams County, Pa., January 3, 1855; elected to the State Senate of Minnesota in 1890; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Thompson McCleary, Republican, of Second District, was born at Ingersoll, Ontario, February 5, 1853; educated at the high school there, and at McGill University, Montreal; in 1891 was chosen president of the Minnesota Educational Association; was elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joel Prescott Heatwole, Republican, of Third District, was born in Indiana, August 22, 1856; was elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congresses.

Frederick Clement Stevens, Republican, of Fourth District, was born in Boston, Mass., January 1, 1861; graduated from Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., in 1881; from Law School of the State University of Iowa in 1884; was admitted to the bar in 1884, and commenced practice in St. Paul; was elected to the State Legislature of Minnesota in session of 1888-89 and 1890-91; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Loren Fletcher, Republican, of Fifth District, was born at Mount Vernon, Kennebec County, Me.; educated in public schools and Maine Wesleyan Seminary, Kents Hill, Me.; in 1856 removed to Minneapolis, Minn.; elected to the State Legislature in 1872, and re-elected seven times; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Page Morris, Republican, of Sixth District, was born June 30, 1853, at Lynchburg, Va.; educated at a private school and at William and Mary College and the Virginia Military Institute; in 1886 removed from Lynchburg to Duluth; in February, 1889, elected municipal judge; in March, 1894, elected city attorney; in August, 1895, appointed district judge of the eleventh judicial district of Minnesota; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Frank Marion Eddy, Republican, of Seventh District, was born in Pleasant Grove, Minn., April 1, 1856; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

MISSISSIPPI SENATORS.

Will Van Amberg Sullivan, Democrat, of Oxford, was born December 18, 1857, near Winona, Miss.; received his education at the University of Mississippi and at the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; began the practice of law in the fall of 1875; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; was appointed and sworn in as United States Senator from the State of Mississippi on May 30, 1898, as successor of Senator E. C. Walthall, deceased; elected by the Legislature, January, 1900, to fill out the term.

Hernando De Soto Money, Democrat, of Carrollton, was born August 26, 1839, in Holmes County, Miss.; was educated at the University of Mississippi, at Oxford, Miss.; is a lawyer and planter; elected to the House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth Congresses; in January, 1896, was elected to the Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1899; was appointed to the Senate, October 8, 1897, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. J. Z. George on August 14, 1897; elected by the Legislature to fill out the unexpired term ending March 3, 1899, and re-elected in 1899.

MISSISSIPPI REPRESENTATIVES.

John M. Allen, Democrat, of First District, was born in Tishomingo County, Miss., July 8, 1847; graduated in law in the year 1870 at the University of Mississippi; in 1875 was elected district attorney for the first judicial district of Mississippi; elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and unanimously re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thomas Spight, Democrat, of Second District, was born and reared on a farm in Tippah County, Miss.; entered the La Grange (Tenn.) Synodical College; admitted to the bar and has practiced his profession since at Ripley; in Legislature from 1874 to 1880; elected district attorney of the third judicial district; elected for the unexpired term of the Fifty-fifth Congress, July 5, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thomas Clendinen Catchings, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Hinds County, Miss., January 11, 1847; entered Oakland College, Mississippi, where he passed into the Junior Class; admitted to the bar in May, 1866; elected to the State Senate of Mississippi in 1875; elected attorney-general of Mississippi in November, 1877; renominated in August, 1881, and elected; elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Andrew Fuller Fox, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born April 26, 1849, in Pickens County, Ala.; studied law at Grenada, Miss., in

1876 and 1877; admitted to the bar in 1877; elected State Senator in 1891; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Sharp Williams, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born July 30, 1854, at Memphis, Tenn.; received education at Kentucky Military Institute, University of the South, University of Virginia, and University of Heidelberg, in Baden, Germany; subsequently studied law; in December, 1878, removed to Yazoo City, Miss., where he engaged in the practice of his profession; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Frank Alexander McLain, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born January 29, 1853, and reared on a farm in Amite County, Miss.; graduated in the A. B. course at the University of Mississippi in June, 1874; commenced the practice of law in Liberty, Miss., 1880; elected to the State Legislature in 1881; elected district attorney in 1883; unanimously nominated by the executive committee; elected to Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Patrick Henry, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born in Madison County, Miss., February 12, 1843; entered Mississippi College, at Clinton; afterwards Madison College, at Sharon; commenced the practice of law at Brandon; member of the Legislature in 1878 and 1890; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

MISSOURI SENATORS.

George Graham Vest, Democrat, of Sweet Springs, was born at Frankfort, Ky., December 6, 1830; graduated at Centre College, Kentucky, in 1848, and in the law department of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., in 1853; removed the same year to Missouri; member of the Missouri House of Representatives in 1860-61; elected to the United States Senate; took his seat March 18, 1879; was re-elected in 1885, 1890 and 1897.

Francis Marion Cockrell, Democrat, of Warrensburg, was born in Johnson County, Mo., October 1, 1834; graduated from Chapel Hill

College, Lafayette County, Mo., in July, 1853; studied law and has pursued that profession; elected to the Senate, took his seat March 4, 1875, and was re-elected four times.

MISSOURI REPRESENTATIVES.

James Tighlman Lloyd, Democrat, of First District, was born at Canton, Lewis County, Mo., August 28, 1857; graduated from Christian University at Canton, Mo., in 1878; admitted to the bar; prosecuting attorney of his county from 1889 to 1893; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress June 1, 1897; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William W. Rucker, Democrat, of Second District, was born February 1, 1855, near Covington, Va.; moved to Chariton County, Mo.; admitted to the bar in 1876; in 1886 elected prosecuting attorney of Chariton County; in 1892 was elected circuit judge for a term of six years; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Dougherty, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Platte County, Mo., February 25, 1857; educated in the public schools and William Jewell College; studied law; admitted to the bar in 1880; elected city attorney of Liberty, Mo., in 1881; elected prosecuting attorney of Clay County, Mo., in 1888; nominated and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles F. Cochran, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Kirksville, Adair County, Mo., September 27, 1848; resided in Atchison, Kan., from 1860 till 1885; was educated in the common schools; is a practical printer and newspaper man and a lawyer; served four years as prosecuting attorney of Atchison County, Kan., and four years as a member of the Missouri Senate; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 18,294 votes, to 16,261 for Arthur W. Brewster, Republican.

William Strother Cowherd, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born September 1, 1860, in Jackson County, Mo.; educated at University of Missouri; appointed assistant prosecuting attorney of Jackson County in 1885; elected mayor of Kansas City in 1892; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

David A. De Armond, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in Blair County, Pa., March 18, 1844; educated in the common schools and at Williamsport Dickinson Seminary; State Senator, circuit judge, and Missouri Supreme Court Commissioner; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Cooney, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born in Ireland in 1848, and came to the United States with his family in 1852; educated at the State University of Missouri; engaged in the practice of law; in 1882, and again in 1884, was elected prosecuting attorney of his county; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Dorsey W. Shackleford, Democrat, of Eighth District, was born August 27, 1853, in Saline County, Mo.; educated in the public schools of the State, and was a teacher in 1877, 1878 and 1879 during which period he carried on the study of law; served as prosecuting attorney of Cooper County two terms, from 1882 to 1886 and from 1890 to 1892; elected judge of the fourteenth judicial circuit of Missouri; resigned his judicial position to take his place in the Fifty-sixth Congress, to which he had been elected August 29, 1899.

Champ Clark, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born March 7, 1850, in Anderson County, Ky.; educated in Kentucky University, Bethany College, and Cincinnati Law School; city attorney of Louisiana and Bowling Green; served in the Fifty-third and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and was re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Richard Bartholdt, Republican, of Tenth District, was born in Germany, November 2, 1853; received a classical education; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Frederick Joy, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born in Morgan County, Ill., December 11, 1849; in 1870 entered the academic department of Yale College, from which he graduated June 25, 1874; engaged in the practice of law in St. Louis in September, 1876; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Edward Pearce, Republican, of Twelfth District, was born in Whitesboro, Oneida County, N. Y.; educated at Fairfield Seminary and Union College; admitted to the bar, and began the practice of law in 1867; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and in 1898 was re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward Robb, Democrat, of Thirteenth District, was born at Brazeau, in Perry County, Mo., March 19, 1857; graduated from the law department of the Missouri State University in March, 1879; elected prosecuting attorney of Perry County in 1880, and re-elected in 1882; elected a member of the Legislature in 1884, and re-elected in 1886; was appointed assistant attorney-general of the State in January, 1889; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Willard Duncan Vandiver, Democrat, of Fourteenth District, was born in Hardy County, Va., March 30, 1854; educated at Central College, Fayette, Mo.; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Maecenas E. Benton, Democrat, of Fifteenth District, was born in Obion County, Tenn., January 29, 1849; received his literary education in two West Tennessee academies and in St. Louis University; graduated from the law department of Cumberland University in June, 1870, and immediately removed to Missouri; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

MONTANA SENATOR.

Thomas Henry Carter, Republican, of Helena, was born in Scioto County, Ohio, October 30, 1854; received a common school education in Illinois; studied law and was admitted to the bar; in 1882 removed from Burlington, Iowa, to Helena, Mont.; upon the admission of the State was elected its first Representative in Congress; in January, 1895, was elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Montana for the term beginning March 4, 1895.

MONTANA REPRESENTATIVE.

Albert J. Campbell, Democrat, of Butte, was born at Pontiac, Mich., December 12, 1857; educated at the Agricultural College, Lan-

sing, Mich.; admitted to the bar in 1881; removed to Montana November 16, 1889; in 1897 was a member of the Legislature from Park County; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

NEBRASKA SENATORS.

John Mellen Thurston, Republican, of Omaha, was born at Montpelier, Vt., August 21, 1847; educated in the public schools and at Wayland University, Beaver Dam, Wis.; admitted to the bar May 21, 1869, and in October of the same year located in Omaha; elected a member of the city council in 1872, city attorney of Omaha in 1874, and a member of the Nebraska Legislature in 1875; elected to United States Senate January 15, 1895, for the term commencing March 4, 1895.

William Vincent Allen, Populist, of Madison, was born in Midway, Madison County, Ohio, January 28, 1847; removed to Iowa in 1857; attended the Upper Iowa University, at Fayette, for a time; admitted to the bar May 31, 1869; elected to the United States Senate February 7, 1893; elected judge November 7, 1899, for the full term to begin on the first Thursday in January, 1900; appointed United States Senator December 13, 1899, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. M. L. Hayward.

NEBRASKA REPRESENTATIVES.

Elmer Jacob Burkett, Republican, of First District, was born in Mills County, Iowa, December 1, 1867; attended Tabor College, at Tabor, Iowa, from which institution he graduated in June, 1890; entered the State University of Nebraska for a law course; admitted to the bar at Lincoln in June, 1893; elected a member of the State Legislature in 1896; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

David Henry Mercer, Republican, of Second District, was born in Benton County, Iowa, July 9, 1857; entered Nebraska State University in 1877 and graduated in 1880; moved to Omaha in 1885; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John S. Robinson, Democrat, of Third District, was born at Wheeling, W. Va., May 4, 1856; received his education in the public schools of that city; admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of West

Virginia in 1880; in 1884 settled at Madison, Neb.; elected county attorney of Madison County in 1886, and re-elected in 1890; in 1893 elected judge of the ninth judicial district of Nebraska, and re-elected in 1895; elected to Fifty-sixth Congress in 1898.

William Ledyard Stark, Populist, of Fourth District, was born in Mystic, New London County, Conn., July 29, 1853; graduated from the Mystic Valley Institute, at Mystic, Conn., in 1872; attended the Union College of Law, Chicago, Ill.; admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Illinois in January, 1878; removed to Aurora, Neb., in February, 1878; deputy district attorney for two years; appointed once and elected five times judge of the county court of Hamilton County, Neb.; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Roderick Dhu Sutherland, Populist, of Fifth District, was born April 27, 1862, at Scotch Grove, Jones County, Iowa; admitted to the bar in Nuckolls County, Neb., in 1888; elected county attorney in 1890, and re-elected in 1892 and 1894; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, as a Populist; was the unanimous nominee of the Populist, Democratic and Silver Republican parties for the Fifty-sixth Congress, and was re-elected.

William Neville, Populist, of Sixth District, was born in Washington County, Ill., December 29, 1843; educated at McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.; elected to the Illinois Legislature as a Democrat in the fall of 1872; moved to Nebraska in May, 1874; elected to the Nebraska Legislature in 1876; moved to North Platte in April, 1877; nominated by the Populists, Democrats and Silver Republicans, and was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

NEVADA SENATORS.

John Percival Jones, of the Silver party, of Gold Hill, was born in Herefordshire, England, in 1830; went to Nevada in 1867; elected to the United States Senate, as a Republican, to succeed J. W. Nye, Republican; took his seat March 4, 1873, and was re-elected in 1879, 1885, 1890 and 1897.

William Morris Stewart was born in Lyons, Wayne County, N. Y., August 9, 1827; entered Yale College, remaining there till the winter of 1849-50; in 1860 he removed to Virginia City, Nev.; member of the Territorial Council in 1861; in 1863 was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention; was elected United States Senator in 1864 and re-elected in 1869; elected to the United States Senate, as a Republican, in 1887, to succeed James G. Fair, Democrat, and took his seat March 4, 1887; was re-elected in 1893 and 1899.

NEVADA REPRESENTATIVE.

Francis Griffith Newlands, Representative-at-Large of the Silver party, of Reno, was born in Natchez, Miss., August 28, 1848; entered the Class of 1867 at Yale College and remained until the middle of his junior year; later on attended the Columbian College Law School at Washington, but prior to graduation was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and went to San Francisco; in 1888 he became a citizen of the State of Nevada; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and, having received his nomination from both the Silver party and the Democratic party, was re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SENATORS.

William Eaton Chandler, Republican, of Concord, was born in Concord, N. H., December 28, 1835; graduated at Harvard Law School and was admitted to the bar in 1855; a member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives in 1862, 1863 and 1864; on March 9, 1865, became Solicitor and Judge-Advocate-General of the Navy Department; was appointed First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury June 17, 1865; appointed by President Arthur Secretary of the Navy April 12, 1882, and served till March 7, 1885; elected to the United States Senate June 14, 1887; re-elected June 18, 1889, and again January 15, 1895.

Jacob H. Gallinger, Republican, of Concord, was born in Cornwall, Ontario, March 28, 1837; studied medicine and was graduated in 1858: was a member of the House of Representatives of New Hamp-

shire in 1872-73 and 1891; member of the State Senate in 1878, 1879 and 1880; was elected to the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, and declined renomination to the Fifty-first Congress; was elected United States Senator to succeed Henry W. Blair, and took his seat March 4, 1891, and was unanimously re-elected in 1897.

NEW HAMPSHIRE REPRESENTATIVES.

Cyrus Adams Sulloway, Republican, of First District, was born at Grafton, N. H., June 8, 1839; received a common-school and academic education; admitted to the bar in 1863; member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives in 1872-73 and from 1887 to 1893, inclusive; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Frank G. Clarke, Republican, of Second District, was born in Wilton, N. H., September 10, 1850; educated at Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, N. H., and at Dartmouth College; admitted to the bar in 1876; member of the State House of Representatives of 1885; of the State Senate in 1889; re-elected to the former in 1891; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

NEW JERSEY SENATORS.

William J. Sewell, Republican, of Camden, was born in Ireland in 1835, and came to this country at an early age; elected State Senator from Camden County in 1872; re-elected in 1875 and again in 1878; while yet a member of the Legislature he was elected to the United States Senate in 1881; was again elected to the United States Senate in 1895.

John Kean, Republican, of Ursino, was born at Ursino, near Elizabeth, N. J., December 4, 1852; entered Yale College in the Class of 1876; graduated at Columbia College Law School 1875; was admitted to the New Jersey bar 1877; elected to the Forty-eighth and Fiftieth Congresses; was nominated by acclamation by the Republican caucus, and elected to the United States Senate January 25, 1899.

NEW JERSEY REPRESENTATIVES.

Henry C. Loudenslager, Republican, of First District, was born in Mauricetown, Cumberland County, N. J., May 22, 1852; educated in the common schools of his county; elected county clerk in 1882 and re-elected in 1887; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John J. Gardner, Republican, of Second District, was born in Atlantic County in 1845; member of the New Jersey State Senate fifteen years, from 1878 to 1893; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Benjamin F. Howell, Republican, of Third District, was born in Cumberland County, N. J., January, 1844; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joshua S. Salmon, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born near Mount Olive, in that county, February 2, 1846; attended the seminaries at Charlotteville, N. Y., and Schooleys Mountain, N. J.; also took a course at the Albany Law School, and was graduated therefrom in 1873; admitted as an attorney in New Jersey in 1875; elected to the State Legislature in 1877; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Fleming Stewart, Republican, of Fifth District, was born at Paterson, N. J., June 15, 1851; attended public and private schools in Paterson and the University of the City of New York, and graduated at the law school of the latter institution in 1870; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Richard Wayne Parker, Republican, of Sixth District, was born August 6, 1848; graduated from Princeton College in 1867 and from the law school of Columbia College in 1869; was admitted to the bar of New Jersey in June, 1870; was a member of the House of Assembly of New Jersey in 1885 and 1886; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Allan Langdon McDermott, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born in South Boston, Mass., March 30, 1854; is a lawyer by profes-

sion; member of the State Assembly, 1880-81; member of the State Senate, 1899-1900; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Newell Fowler, Republican, of Eighth District, was born at Lena, Ill., November 2, 1852; graduated from Yale University in 1876 and from the Chicago Law School in 1878; was elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

NEW YORK SENATORS.

Thomas Collier Platt, Republican, of Owego, was born in Owego, N. Y., July 15, 1833; was prepared for college at the Owego Academy; was a member of the Class of 1853 of Yale College; was elected to the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses; elected United States Senator January 18, 1881; elected United States Senator in 1896, and took his seat March 4, 1897.

Chauncey Mitchell Depew, Republican, of Peekskill, was born in Peekskill, N. Y., April 23, 1834; graduated from Yale College in 1856, and in 1887 received the degree of LL. D. from his Alma Mater; read law with Honorable William Nelson, of Peekskill, and was admitted to the bar in 1858, beginning the practice of his profession the next year.

In Public Life.—In 1861 was elected to the Assembly, and re-elected in 1862; in 1863 led the Republican campaign in New York as candidate for Secretary of State, and was elected by 30,000 majority; refused a renomination; was appointed Minister to Japan, and was confirmed by the Senate, but declined to accept the office.

Railway Attorney.—In 1866 was appointed attorney for the New York and Harlem Railroad Company, and has since continuously been identified with that and the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, the successor of the former corporation, and with the various railroads comprising and allied to the Vanderbilt system as general counsel.

Railroad President.—Became president of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad in 1885; resigned in 1899 to become chairman of the boards of directors of the New York Central, the Lake Shore, the Michigan Central and the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad companies.

In Politics.—In 1875 was appointed and served as boundary commissioner, fixing the state line with adjoining States; in 1872 was candidate for lieutenant-governor on the Liberal Republican, or Greeley, ticket, but acted with the Republican party the next year, and has canvassed the State and country for the party every year since 1872; in 1874 was elected regent of the State University, and appointed one of the commissioners to build the State Capitol; in 1885, the United States Senatorship was tendered him, but his business and professional engagements at that time prevented acceptance; was a candidate for the Presidential nomination at the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1888, and received ninety-one votes; was delegate-at-large to the conventions in 1892 and 1896, presenting the name of President Harrison for renomination to the former and that of Governor Morton to the latter.

In United States Senate.—Was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Edward Murphy, Jr., Democrat. His term of service expires March 3, 1905.

NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVES.

Townsend Scudder, Democrat, of First District, was born at Northport, Suffolk County, N. Y., July 26, 1865; graduated from Columbia Law School, in the Class of 1888; admitted to the bar of New York in 1889; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John J. Fitzgerald, Democrat, of Second District, was born in Brooklyn March 10, 1872; entered Manhattan College, New York City, and graduated therefrom; studied law at the New York Law School; and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edmund Hope Driggs, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Brooklyn, May 2, 1865; educated at Adelphi College, Brooklyn; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Bertram Tracy Clayton, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Clayton, Ala., October 19, 1862; educated at the University of Alabama and at the United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Frank E. Wilson, M. D., Democrat, of Fifth District, was born in 1857, at Roxbury, Delaware County, N. Y.; graduated from the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1882; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Mitchell May, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born July 11, 1871; educated in the public schools and in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, later entering the law school of Columbia College, graduating in 1892; admitted to the bar in 1893; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Nicholas Muller, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, November 15, 1836; attended the Luxembourg Athenæum; member of the State Assembly in 1875 and 1876; member of the Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses, and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Daniel J. Riordan, Democrat, of Eighth District, was born in Hester street, in the Eighth Congressional District; entered Manhattan College and graduated therefrom in 1890; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thomas J. Bradley, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born January 2, 1870, in the City of New York; graduated at the College of the City of New York, 1887; graduated as a Bachelor of Laws in 1889; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Amos J. Cummings, Democrat, of Tenth District, was born in Conkling, Broome County, N. Y., May 15, 1841; received a common school education; elected to the Fiftieth Congress; declined a renomination; elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Sulzer, Democrat, of Eleventh District, was born in Elizabeth, N. J., March 18, 1863; educated in the public schools; admitted to the bar in 1884; member of the New York Legislature in 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893 and 1894; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George B. McClellan, Democrat, of Twelfth District, was born November 23, 1865, in Dresden, Saxony; graduated from Princeton College in 1886; is a lawyer by profession; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Jefferson M. Levy, Democrat, of Thirteenth District, was born in New York; graduated from the University of the City of New York; admitted to the bar of the State of New York; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Astor Chanler, Democrat, of Fourteenth District, was born June 11, 1867, in Newport, R. I.; educated at St. John's School, Sing Sing, Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., and Harvard University; elected to the Assembly in the New York State Legislature in 1897 from the Fifth District, and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Jacob Ruppert, Jr., Democrat, of Fifteenth District, was born August 5, 1867, in the City of New York; educated at the Columbia Grammar School; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Quincy Underhill, Democrat, of Sixteenth District, was born in New Rochelle, February 19, 1848; educated in private and public schools and at the College of the City of New York; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Arthur Sidney Tompkins, Republican, of Seventeenth District, was born August 26, 1865, in Schoharie County, N. Y.; admitted to the bar in 1886; served in the Assembly of 1890; elected county judge of Rockland County in 1893; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John H. Ketcham, Republican, of Eighteenth District, was born at Dover, N. Y., December 21, 1832; received an academic education; member of the State Senate of New York in 1860 and 1861; elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second and Fifty-fifth Congresses and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Aaron V. S. Cochrane, Republican, of Nineteenth District, was born March 14, 1858, at Coxsackie, N. Y.; entered Yale College in 1875, and was graduated in 1879; admitted to the bar in 1881; elected district attorney of Columbia County in 1889; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Martin H. Glynn, Democrat, of Twentieth District, was born in the town of Kinderhook, September 27, 1871; educated in the public schools and graduated from St. John's College, Fordham, at the head of the Class of 1894; studied law, and is a member of the Albany County bar; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Knox Stewart, Republican, of Twenty-first District, was born in the town of Perth, Fulton County, N. Y., October 20, 1853; educated in the public schools and at Amsterdam Academy; in 1889 was elected member of the Assembly from Montgomery County, and was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Lucius Nathan Littauer, Republican, of Twenty-second District, was born January 20, 1859, in Gloversville; educated at Harvard University, and was graduated in 1878; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Louis W. Emerson, Republican, of Twenty-third District, was born at Warrensburg, July 25, 1857; educated at Warrensburg Academy; State Senator from the Nineteenth District for two terms, commencing 1891; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Albert Duane Shaw, Republican, of Twenty-fourth District, was born in the town of Lyme, Jefferson County, N. Y., December 27, 1841; educated at Belleville Union Academy and Canton University; elected member of the State Assembly in 1866; unanimously nominated by the Republicans of the Twenty-fourth District to fill the vacancy in the Fifty-sixth Congress caused by the death of the Hon. C. A. Chickering, and elected.

James Schoolcraft Sherman, Republican, of Twenty-fifth District, was born in Utica, N. Y., October 24, 1855; received an academic and collegiate education, graduating from Hamilton College in the Class of 1878; was admitted to the bar in 1880; elected to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George W. Ray, Republican, of Twenty-sixth District, was born in Otselic, Chenango County, N. Y., February 3, 1844; educated in the common schools and at Norwich Academy; studied law, was admitted to practice in November, 1867; elected to the Forty-eighth Congress;

elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Michael E. Driscoll, Republican, of Twenty-seventh District, was born in Syracuse, N. Y., February 9, 1851; educated in the district schools, Munro Collegiate Institute, at Elbridge, Onondaga County, and Williams College; is a lawyer, and was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Sereno E. Payne, Republican, of Twenty-eighth District, was born at Hamilton, N. Y., June 26, 1843; graduated at University of Rochester, 1864; admitted to bar 1866, and entered on practice at Auburn; district attorney of Cayuga County, 1873-79; elected to Forty-eighth and subsequent Congresses (except Fiftieth).

Charles W. Gillet, Republican, of Twenty-ninth District, was born at Addison, N. Y., November 26, 1840; graduated at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., Class of 1861; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Wolcott Wadsworth, Republican, of Thirtieth District, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., October 12, 1846; was preparing at New Haven, Conn., to enter Yale College, but left in the fall of 1864 and entered the army; was member of the Assembly in 1878 and 1879, and comptroller of the State of New York in 1880 and 1881; elected to the Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James M. E. O'Grady, Republican, of Thirty-first District, was born at Rochester, N. Y., March 31, 1863; educated in the Rochester schools; graduated from the University of Rochester, 1885; admitted as a lawyer in the fall of 1885; member of the New York State Assembly from the Second Monroe District in 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1898; elected to the Ffty-sixth Congress.

William Henry Ryan, Democrat, of Thirty-second District, was born in Hopkinton, Mass., May 10, 1860; came to Buffalo in 1866; educated in the public schools and high school; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

De Alva Stanwood Alexander, Republican, of Thirty-third District, was born July 17, 1846, in Richmond, Me.; took his bachelor's degree from Bowdoin College in 1870; on leaving Washington, removed to Buffalo; in 1889 was appointed United States Attorney for the northern district of New York; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward B. Vreeland, Republican, of Thirty-fourth District, was born at Cuba, Allegany County, N. Y., in 1857; received an academic education; admitted to the practice of law in 1881; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress November 7, 1899.

NORTH CAROLINA SENATORS.

Marion Butler, Populist, of Elliot, was born in Sampson County, N. C., May 20, 1863; graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1885; elected to the State Senate in 1890 as an Alliance-Democrat; elected chairman of the National Executve Committee of the People's party in 1896; re-entered the University Law School in May, 1899, and was licensed to practice law by the State Supreme Court on September 26 of the same year; elected to the United States Senate to succeed Matt W. Ransom, Democrat, in 1895.

Jeter Connelly Pritchard, Republican, of Marshall, was born in Jonesboro, Tenn., July 12, 1857; received a common-school education at Martins Creek Academy; removed to Bakersville, Mitchell County, N. C., in 1873; elected to the Legislature in 1884, 1886 and 1890; licensed to practice law in 1887; in April, 1894, elected to the United States Senate to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Z. B. Vance; was re-elected in 1897.

NORTH CAROLINA REPRESENTATIVES.

John Humphrey Small, Democrat, of First District, was born August 29, 1858, in Washington, N. C.; educated in the schools of Washington, and at Trinity College, North Carolina; licensed to practice law in January, 1881; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

George Henry White, Republican, of Second District, was born at Rosindale, Bladen County, N. C., December 18, 1852; entered Howard University, Washington, D. C.; graduated from the eclectic depart-

ment of that institution in the Class of 1877; read law while taking academic course; elected to the House of Representatives in 1880 and to the State Senate in 1884; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Randolph Thomas, Democrat, of Third District, was born at Beaufort, N. C., August 21, 1861; educated at the New Bern Academy, and the University of North Carolina, graduating in 1881; studied law; admitted to the bar in October, 1882; member of the House of Representatives of the North Carolina Legislature in 1887; elected in 1896 Democratic Presidential Elector for the third congressional district of North Carolina, and was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Wilbur Atwater, Populist, of Fourth District, was born in Chatham County, N. C., December 27, 1840; received a common-school and academic education; elected State Senator in 1890 as an Alliance-Democrat, and again in 1892 and 1896 as a Populist; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Walton Kitchin, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born near Scotland Neck, N. C., October 9, 1866; educated at Vine Hill Academy and Wake Forest College, where he graduated in 1884; admitted to the bar in 1887; nominee of his party for the State Senate in 1892; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Dillard Bellamy, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in Wilmington, N. C., March 24, 1854; educated at the Cape Fear Military Academy, and at the University of Virginia, graduating in several of the schools in 1874, and with the degree of Bachelor of Law in 1875; State Senator from the twelfth senatorial district; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Theodore F. Kluttz, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born in Salisbury, Rowan County, N. C., October 4, 1848; received his education in schools of his native county; is a lawyer in full practice; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Romulus Z. Linney, Republican, of Eighth District, was born in Rutherford County, N. C., December 26, 1841; educated in the common schools of the county, at York's Collegiate Institute, and at

Dr. Millen's school at Taylorsville; admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court in 1868; elected to the State Senate in 1870, 1873, and again in 1882; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Richmond Pearson, Republican, of Ninth District, was born at Richmond Hill, N. C., January 26, 1852; graduated at Princeton College in the Class of 1872; admitted to the bar of North Carolina in 1874; a member of the North Carolina Legislature in 1885 and again in 1887; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress as an Independent Protectionist and re-elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress as a Republican; was the Republican candidate for the Fifty-sixth Congress; seated by the House May 10, 1900.

NORTH DAKOTA SENATORS.

Henry C. Hansbrough, Republican, of Devils Lake, was born in Randolph County, Ill., January 30, 1848; received a common-school education; twice elected mayor of his city; nominated for Congress by the first Republican State convention in North Dakota, and was elected, receiving 14,071 majority, and was elected to the United States Senate January 23, 1891; re-elected in 1897.

Porter James McCumber, Republican, of Wahpeton, was born in Illinois February 3, 1858; removed to Rochester, Minn., the same year; took the law course in the University of Michigan, graduating in 1880; removed to Wahpeton, N. Dak., in 1881; member of the Territorial Legislature in 1895 and 1897; state attorney until he became a candidate for Senator; elected to the United States Senate January 20, 1899.

NORTH DAKOTA REPRESENTATIVE.

Burleigh Folsom Spalding, Republican, of Fargo, was born in Craftsbury, Orleans County, Vt., December 3, 1853; educated at the Lyndon Literary Institute, Lyndon, Vt., and Norwich University, the military college of the State of Vermont, where he graduated in 1877; read law in Montpelier, Vt., and, after admission to the bar in March, 1880, moved to Fargo; member of the North Dakota Constitutional Convention in 1899; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

OHIO SENATORS.

Joseph Benson Foraker, Republican, of Cincinnati, was born July 5, 1846, in Highland County, Ohio; graduated from Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., July 1, 1869; was admitted to the bar and entered upon the practice of the law at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 14, 1869; elected judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati in April, 1879; elected governor in 1885, and re-elected in 1887; elected United States Senator January 15, 1896, to succeed Calvin S. Brice, and took his seat March 4, 1897.

Marcus Alonzo Hanna, Republican, of Cleveland, was born in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, September 24, 1837. He removed with his father's family to Cleveland in 1852; was educated in the common schools of that city and the Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio; was engaged as an employe in the wholesale grocery house of Hanna, Garretson & Co., his father being senior member of the firm; his father died in 1862 and he represented that interest in the firm until 1867, when the business was closed up.

In Lumber and Coal Business.—Then became a member of the firm of Rhodes & Co., engaged in the iron and coal business; at the expiration of ten years the title of this firm was changed to M. A. Hanna & Co., which still exists; has been identified with lake carrying business, being interested in vessels on the lakes, and in the construction of such vessels; is president of the Union National Bank of Cleveland; president of the Cleveland City Railway Company; was director of the Union Pacific Railway Company in 1885, by appointment of President Cleveland; was a delegate to the National Republican Conventions in 1884, 1888 and 1896.

Chairman of Republican National Committee.—Was elected chairman of the National Republican Committee in 1896, and still holds that position.

In United States Senate.—Was appointed to the United States Senate by Governor Bushnell March 5, 1897, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Hon. John Sherman; who resigned to accept the position of Secretary of State in President McKinley's Cabinet; took his seat March 5, 1897; in January, 1898, he was elected for the short term ending March 4, 1899, and also for the succeeding full term. His term of service expires March 4, 1905.

Public Service.—Mr. Hanna occupies one of the highest places in the councils of his party, and is conspicuous for those sturdy qualities which add pith and vitality to decisions and methods. He would eliminate all idle theories from platforms and all indirectness from political management, and introduce into creed, discipline, attack and parry only the simple, hard, sterling facts and features of deliberate business. As a public spokesman he has not made claim upon nor resort to conventional oratory, yet has proved one of the most logical and convincing of controversialists.

OHIO REPRESENTATIVES.

William B. Shattuc, Republican, of First District, was born at North Hector, N. Y., June 11, 1841; removed to Ohio when eleven years old, and received his education in the public schools of the State; in 1895 was elected one of the State Senators from Hamilton County to the Seventy-second General Assembly; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Jacob H. Bromwell, Republican, of Second District, was born May 11, 1847, in Cincinnati, Ohio; received his education in the public schools of that city; graduated from the Cincinnati Law College in 1870; elected to the Fifty-third Congress to fill an unexpired term; at the same time elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John L. Brenner, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Wayne Township, Montgomery County, Ohio, in 1832; received a common-school education; attended Springfield (Ohio) Academy; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert B. Gordon, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Auglaize County, Ohio, August 6, 1855; received his education in public schools at St. Marys; in 1889 was elected by the Democratic party as auditor of Auglaize County, in which capacity he served for six years; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

David Meekison, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born November 14, 1849, at Dundee, Scotland, and emigrated from that country in 1855 to Napoleon, Ohio; attended the common schools; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1873; in 1881 was elected probate

judge, and served two terms; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Seth W. Brown, Republican, of Sixth District, was born January 4, 1843, near Waynesville, Warren County, Ohio; educated in the public schools; admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court in 1873; elected prosecuting attorney for Warren County in 1880 and re-elected in 1882; elected Representative in the General Assembly in 1883 and re-elected in 1885; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Walter L. Weaver, Republican, of Seventh District, was born in Montgomery County, Ohio, April 1, 1851; educated at the public schools, Monroe Academy and Wittenberg College, graduating from the latter institution in 1870; immediately pursued the study of law, and was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of his native State in 1872; elected prosecuting attorney for Clark County in 1874, and again elected to the same office in 1880, 1882 and 1885; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Archibald Lybrand, Republican, of Eighth District, was born in Tarlton, Pickaway County, Ohio, May 23, 1840; educated at the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1871; appointed postmaster at Delaware December 20, 1881, and served one term of four years; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Harding Southard, Republican, of Ninth District, was born in Washington Township, Lucas County, Ohio, January 20, 1851; graduated at Cornell University in 1874; began to study law in 1875 and was admitted to practice in 1877; twice elected prosecuting attorney of Lucas County, and served in that office six years; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Stephen Morgan, Republican, of Tenth District, was born in Jackson County, Ohio, January 25, 1854; educated in the country schools and at Worthington and Lebanon, Ohio; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Henry Grosvenor, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born at Pomfret, Windham County, Conn., September 20, 1833;

attended a few terms in a country log school-house in Athens County, Ohio; taught school and studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1857; member of the State House of Representatives of Ohio, 1874-78; elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Jacob Lentz, Democrat, of Twelfth District, was born near St. Clairsville, Belmont County, Ohio, January 27, 1856; graduated from the National Normal University, Lebanon, Ohio, in 1877; attended University of Wooster one year, and graduated from University of Michigan with degree of A. B. in 1882; took both law courses at Columbia College, New York City; admitted to the bar at Columbus in October, 1883; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Albert Norton, Democrat, of Thirteenth District, was born in Seneca County, Ohio, on November 11, 1843; educated in the Tiffin schools; began the practice of medicine in 1867; admitted to the bar in 1879; served six years in the Ohio House of Representatives from 1873 to 1879; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Winfield S. Kerr, Republican, of Fourteenth District, is a graduate of the law department of the University of Michigan, and is by profession a lawyer; served four years in the Ohio State Senate; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry Clay Van Voorhis, Republican, of Fifteenth District, was born in Licking Township, Muskingum County, Ohio, May 11, 1852; educated in the public schools and at Denison University; was admitted to the bar in 1874; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph J. Gill, Republican, of Sixteenth District, was born September 21, 1846, at Barnesville, Belmont County, Ohio; received an academic education; graduated from the law school of the University of Michigan in 1868; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress November 7, 1899, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lorenzo Danford.

John Anderson McDowell, Democrat, of Seventeenth District, was born in Kilbuck, Holmes County, Ohio, September 25, 1853; graduated from Mount Union College; has been directly interested in agricultural pursuits for several years; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert Walker Tayler, Republican, of Eighteenth District, was born at Youngstown, Ohio, November 26, 1852; graduated at Western Reserve College June, 1872; in April, 1877, was admitted to the bar; elected prosecuting attorney of Columbiana County in 1880, re-elected in 1882, and served until January, 1886; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Dick, Republican, of Nineteenth District, was born at Akron, Ohio, November 3, 1858; lawyer; elected to the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

Fremont Orestes Phillips, Republican, of Twentieth District, was born in Lafayette, Medina County, Ohio, March 16, 1856; received his education in the Medina High School, Medina Normal School and Kenyon College; admitted to the bar in 1880; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Theodore E. Burton, Republican, of Twenty-first District, was born at Jefferson, Ashtabula County, Ohio, December 20, 1851; studied at Grand River Institute, Austinburg, Ohio, at Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa, and at Oberlin College, from which last institution he graduated in 1872; began the practice of law at Cleveland in 1875; was a member of the Fifty-first Congress; was elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

OREGON SENATORS.

George W. McBride, Republican, of St. Helens, was born in Yamhill County, Ore., March 13, 1854; was a student at Christian College, Monmouth, Ore., for two years; studied law, and was admitted to the bar; elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly of Oregon in June, 1882; elected Secretary of State in 1886; re-elected in 1890 and served eight years, his second term ending January 14, 1895; elected United States Senator February 23, 1895.

Joseph Simon, Republican, of Portland, was born in 1851, and has resided in the city of Portland since 1857; admitted to the bar in 1872; elected to the State Senate from Multnomah County in 1880, 1884, 1888,1894 and 1898; elected to the United States Senate October 8, 1898, to fill a vacancy that had existed since March 4, 1897.

OREGON REPRESENTATIVES.

Thomas H. Tongue, Republican, of First District, was born June 23, 1844; removed with his parents to Washington County, Ore., November 23, 1859; graduated from Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore., in June, 1868; was admitted to the bar September, 1870; in 1888 elected to State Senate for a term of four years; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Malcomb A. Moody, Republican, of Second District, was born in Brownsville, Linn County, Ore., November 30, 1854; was educated in the public schools of Oregon and at the University of California; in 1889 was elected mayor of Dallas, serving two terms; on June 6, 1898, was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

PENNSYLVANIA SENATORS.

Matthew Stanley Quay was born in York County, Pa., September 30, 1833; graduated from Jefferson College 1850; admitted to the bar 1854; member of Pennsylvania Legislature 1865-67; Secretary of Commonwealth 1879-82; elected State Treasurer 1885; elected to the United States Senate 1887; re-elected 1893; in 1899 the Legislature disagreed to his election, and he was appointed Senator by Governor Stone; the Senate rejected the appointment; in 1901 re-elected to Senate by a favorable Legislature.

Boies Penrose, Republican, of Philadelphia, was born in Philadelphia November 1, 1860; graduated from Harvard College in 1881; admitted to the bar in 1883; elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from the eighth Philadelphia district in 1884; elected to the Pennsylvania State Senate from the sixth Philadelphia district in 1886; re-elected in 1890 and again in 1894; elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat March 4, 1897.

PENNSYLVANIA REPRESENTATIVES.

Galusha A. Grow, Republican, Representative-at-Large, was born in Ashford (now Eastford), Windham County, Conn., August 31, 1823; entered Amherst College September, 1840; graduated July, 1844; admitted to the bar of Susquehanna County April 19, 1847; elected to Congress in 1850, succeeding David Wilmot; elected from the same district six consecutive terms; elected Speaker of the Thirty-seventh Congress July 4, 1861; February 20, 1894, at a special election to fill the vacancy in the Fifty-third Congress caused by the death of William Lilly, was elected Congressman-at-Large; re-elected to the Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congress as Representative-at-Large.

S. A. Davenport, Republican, Representative-at-Large, was born January 15, 1834, in Schuyler County, near Watkins, in the State of New York; educated at the Erie Academy, read law, and graduated at the Harvard Law University in 1855; in 1860 was elected district attorney for the county of Erie; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress from the State at large, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry H. Bingham, Republican, of First District, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., December 4, 1841; graduated at Jefferson College in 1862; studied law; appointed postmaster of Philadelphia in March, 1867; elected to the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses.

Robert Adams, Jr., Republican, of Second District, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., February 26, 1849; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1869; studied and practiced law for five years; graduated in 1884 from the Wharton School of Economy and Finance of the University of Pennsylvania; appointed United States Minister to Brazil April 1, 1889; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William McAleer, Democrat, of Third District, was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, January 6, 1838; emigrated with his parents to Philadelphia in 1851; attended public and private schools;

elected to the State Senate in 1886 for a term of four years; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Rankin Young, Republican, of Fourth District, was born in Philadelphia March 10, 1847; educated in the public schools of his native city, entering the Central High School in 1862; chief executive clerk of the United States Senate from December, 1883, to April, 1892; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward Morrell, Republican, of Fifth District, was born at Newport, R. I., August 7, 1862; studied law at the University of Pennsylvania; elected to the Select Council of Philadelphia in 1891, serving three years; nominated by the Republican convention to fill the vacancy in the Fifty-sixth Congress caused by the death of the late Honorable A. C. Harmer, and elected.

Thomas S. Butler, Republican, of Sixth District, was born in Uwchlan, Chester County, Pa., November 4, 1855; educated at the public schools, and also at Wyers' and Worrall's academies, and at the normal school at West Chester; is a member of the Chester County bar; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Irving Price Wanger, Republican, of Seventh District, was born in North Coventry, Chester County, Pa., March 5, 1852; admitted to the bar December 18, 1875; was elected district attorney of Montgomery County in 1880, and again in 1886; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Laird Howard Barber, Democrat, of Eighth District, was born near Mifflinburg, Union County, Pa., October 25, 1848; graduated from Lafayette in 1871; admitted to the bar June 20, 1881; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Henry Dickinson Green, Democrat, of Ninth District was born at Reading, Berks County, Pa., May 3, 1857; educated at Yale University, graduating from the latter with the class of 1877; admitted to practice law at the Berks County bar in November, 1879, to the

Supreme Court of Pennsylvania March 4, 1890, and to the Supreme Court of the United States March 19, 1900; member of the Senate of Pennsylvania from 1889 to 1896; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress November 7, 1899, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Hon. Daniel Ermentrout.

Marriott Brosius, Republican, of Tenth District, was born in Colerain Township, Lancaster County, Pa., March 7, 1843; received a common-school and academic education; admitted to the bar in 1868; elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses; died in 1901.

William Connell, Republican, of Eleventh District, was born at Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, September 10, 1827; when he was yet young, his parents moved to what is now Hazleton, Luzerne County, Pa.; delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1896; member of the Pennsylvania Republican committee; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Stanley Woodward Davenport, Democrat, of Twelfth District, was born at Plymouth, Luzerne County, Pa., July 21, 1861; graduated from the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., in 1884; admitted to the Luzerne County bar in June, 1890; elected register of wills of Luzerne County in 1893; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James W. Ryan, Democrat, of Thirteenth District, was born in Norwegian Township, Schuylkill County, Pa., October 16, 1858; attended the high school of Frackville; admitted to the bar in 1884; elected district attorney in 1892, and served until January, 1896; nominated for Congress by acclamation, and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Marlin Edgar Olmsted, Republican, of Fourteenth District, was born in Ulysses Township, Potter County, Pa.; educated in common schools and Coudersport Academy; admitted to the bar of Dauphin County November 25, 1878, to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania May 16, 1881, and to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States November 12, 1884; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Fredrick Wright, Republican, of Fifteenth District, was born in Forest Lake Township, Susquehanna County, Pa.; delegate to the St. Louis Republican Convention in 1896; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Horace B. Packer, Republican, of Sixteenth District, was born in Wellsboro, Pa.; educated at Wellsboro Academy and Alfred University, New York; admitted to the bar; elected district attorney for three years, and served one year by appointment just prior to his election; in 1884 elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, and re-elected in 1886; in 1888 elected to the State Senate; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Rufus King Polk, Democrat, of Seventeenth District, was born in Maury County, Tenn., August 23, 1866; educated at Webb's Academy, Culleoka, Tenn., and Lehigh University, Pa.; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thaddeus Maclay Mahon, Republican, of Eighteenth District, was born at Greenvillage, Franklin County, Pa., in 1840; received a common-school and academic education; admitted to practice in 1871; was a member of Pennsylvania Legislature in 1870, 1871 and 1872; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward Danner Ziegler, Democrat, of Nineteenth District, was born March 3, 1844, in Bedford, Bedford County, Pa.; educated at Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, and was graduated with the Class of 1865; admitted a member of the York County bar on November 4, 1868; on November 2, 1880, was elected district attorney of York County; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph Earlston Thropp, Republican, of Twentieth District, was born at Valley Forge, Chester County, Pa.; graduated from the Polytechnic College of the State of Pennsylvania; entered the iron business in 1870; in 1898 was nominated and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Summers Melville Jack, Republican, of Twenty-first District, was born at Summersville, Jefferson County, Pa., July 18, 1852; educated in the public and private schools of Jefferson County, and in the Indi-

ana Normal School of Pennsylvania; admitted to bar September 10, 1879; has been actively engaged in law practice since admission to the bar; chairman of the Congressional conference for the twenty-first district in 1896; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Dalzell, Republican, of Twenty-second District, was born in New York City April 19, 1845; removed to Pittsburg in 1847; received a common-school and collegiate education, graduating from Yale College in the Class of 1865; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in February, 1867; elected to the Fiftieth Congress; was elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William H. Graham, Republican, of Twenty-third District, was born in Allegheny, Pa., August 3, 1844; attended the public schools of that city; served three successive terms as recorder of deeds of Allegheny County; represented his city during four sessions of the Pennsylvania Legislature; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress at a special election held November 29, 1898; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Ernest F. Acheson, Republican, of Twenty-fourth District, was born in Washington, Pa., September 19, 1855; educated at Washington and Jefferson College; admitted to the bar in 1877; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph B. Showalter, Republican, of Twenty-fifth District, was born in Fayette County, Pa., February 11, 1851; received a public school and academic education; practiced medicine for a number of years at Chicora, Pa.; elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1886 as a Republican; elected to the Pennsylvania State Senate in 1888; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Athelston Gaston, Democrat, of Twenty-sixth District, was born in Castile, N. Y., April 24, 1838; when sixteen years of age his parents moved to Crawford County, Pa.; received a common-school education; elected mayor of the city of Meadville in 1891; re-elected in 1892; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph Crocker Sibley, Democrat, of Twenty-seventh District, was born in Friendship, Allegany County, N. Y., February 18, 1850; educated in the common schools and at Springville and Friendship academies; elected to represent the twenty-sixth district in the Fifty-third Congress; in 1898 was tendered the nomination by both the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh districts, accepting in the twenty-seventh; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Knox Polk Hall, Democrat, of Twenty-eighth District, was born September 30, 1844, at Milesburg, Centre County, Pa.; educated at Pittsburg, Pa.; was admitted to the bar November 8, 1866; elected district attorney of Elk County in 1867; re-elected in 1870 and in 1873; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

RHODE ISLAND SENATORS.

George Peabody Wetmore, Republican, of Newport, was born during a visit of his parents abroad, at London, England, August 2, 1846; graduated from Yale College in 1867; studied law at Columbia College Law School, and was graduated in 1869; admitted to the bar of Rhode Island and of New York in 1869; governor of Rhode Island in 1885-86, 1886-87; elected to the United States Senate to succeed Nathan F. Dixon June 13, 1894, receiving the unanimous vote of the General Assembly in the Senate, House and Joint Assembly, and re-elected in 1900.

Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich, Republican, of Providence, was born at Foster, R. I., November 6, 1841; received an academic education; was a member of the Rhode Island General Assembly in 1875-76; elected to the House of Representatives of the Forty-sixth Congress, and re-elected to the Forty-seventh Congress; was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Ambrose E. Burnside, Republican took his seat December 5, 1881, and was re-elected in 1886, in 1892 and in 1898.

RHODE ISLAND REPRESENTATIVES.

Melville Bull, Republican, of First District, was born at Newport, R. I., in 1854; graduated at Harvard College in 1877; representative from Middletown in State Legislature 1883-1885, Senator 1885-92, lieutenant-governor 1892-94; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Adin Ballou Capron, Republican, of Second District, was born in ndon, Mass., January 9, 1841; educated at Woonsocket High School d Westbrook Seminary, near Portland, Me.; is engaged in milling d dealing in grain; elected to Rhode Island Assembly in 1887, and elected in 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891 and 1892; was Speaker of the ouse in 1891 and 1892; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

SOUTH CAROLINA SENATORS.

Benjamin Ryan Tillman, Democrat, of Trenton, was born in dgefield County, S. C., August 11, 1847; received an academic edu- tion; elected governor in 1890; re-elected in 1892; elected by the eneral Assembly to United States Senate by a vote of 131 to 21 for utler. His term of service expired March 3, 1901.

John Lowndes McLaurin, Democrat, of Marlboro County, was orn at Reed Bluff, that county, May 9, 1860; was educated at the vil- ge school of Bennettsville, at Bethel Military Academy, near War- enton, Va., at Swarthmore College, Philadelphia, at the Carolina Military Institute and at the University of Virginia; studied law at he last-named school, and was admitted to the bar in 1882; in 1890 lected to the General Assembly of South Carolina; elected attorney- eneral of that State the following year; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty- fth Congress; appointed United States Senator May 27, 1897, to fill he vacancy; elected to fill out the unexpired term ending March 3, 903.

SOUTH CAROLINA REPRESENTATIVES.

William Elliott, Democrat, of First District, was born in Beau- ort, S. C., September 3, 1838; educated at Beaufort College, Harvard University and the University of Virginia; admitted to the bar at Charleston in April, 1861; in 1866 elected a member of the South Carolina Legislature; elected to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty- sixth Congress.

William Jasper Talbert, Democrat, of Second District, was born in Edgefield County, S. C., in 1846; educated in the schools of his

native county and Due West Academy, Abbeville; in 1880 was elected to the Legislature, and re-elected in 1882; elected to the State Senate in 1884; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Asbury C. Latimer, Democrat, of Third District, was born July 31, 1851, near Lowndesville, Abbeville County, S. C.; educated in the common schools; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Stanyarne Wilson, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born 1859 in Yorkville, S. C.; educated at Kings Mountain Military School, South Carolina, and Washington and Lee University, Virginia; is a lawyer; was elected to the Legislature in 1884, to the Senate in 1892; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

David Edward Finley, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born at Trenton, Ark., February 28, 1861; since September, 1865, has resided in York County, S. C.; was educated in the schools at Rock Hill and Ebenezer, S. C., and the South Carolina College; is a lawyer; was a member of the House of Representatives of South Carolina in 1890-91, and of the State Senate 1892-96; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress without opposition.

James Norton, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born October 8, 1843, in Marion County, S. C.; received an academic education; served as a member of the House of Representatives of South Carolina 1886-87 and 1890-91; was elected comptroller-general of the State in 1894, and re-elected in 1896; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

J. William Stokes, Democrat, of Seventh District, was brought up to farm life; graduated from Washington and Lee University, Virginia, in 1876; graduated in medicine from Vanderbilt University, Tennessee; elected to the State Senate in 1890; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

SOUTH DAKOTA SENATORS.

Richard F. Pettigrew, of Sioux Falls, was born at Ludlow, Vt., July, 1848; removed with his parents to Evansville, Rock County,

Wis., in 1854; entered Beloit College in 1866, where he remained two years; member of the law class of 1870, University of Wisconsin; went to Dakota in July, 1869; opened a law office in 1872; elected to the Dakota Legislature in 1877, and re-elected in 1879; elected to the Forty-seventh Congress as delegate from Dakota Territory; was elected to the Territorial Council of 1884-85; elected United States Senator October 16, 1889; re-elected in 1895.

James Henderson Kyle, Republican, of Aberdeen, was born near Xenia, Ohio, February 24, 1854; entered Oberlin College in 1873, and graduated in 1878; prepared for admission to the bar, but afterwards entered Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa., graduating in 1882; elected to the State Senate as an Independent in 1890; elected to the United States Senate; took his seat March 4, 1891; re-elected in 1897.

SOUTH DAKOTA REPRESENTATIVES.

Robert Jackson Gamble, Republican, of Yankton, was born near Akron, N. Y., February 7, 1851; received a common-school and collegiate education, graduating from Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis., in 1874; is a lawyer by profession; located at Yankton in November, 1875, where he has since been engaged in the practice; district attorney for the second judicial district of the Territory in 1880; State Senator in 1885; member of the Fifty-fourth Congress; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles H. Burke, Republican, of Pierre, Hughes County, was born April 1, 1861, in Genesee County, N. Y.; was educated in the public schools of Batavia, N. Y.; removed to Dakota Territory in 1882; admitted to the bar in 1886; elected to the Legislature in 1894, and re-elected in 1896; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

TENNESSEE SENATORS.

Thomas B. Turley, Democrat, of Memphis, was born in Memphis April 5, 1845; graduated from the law department of the University of Virginia in 1867; appointed to the United States Senate, July 20, 1897, to succeed Senator Isham G. Harris, deceased; elected by the Legislature to fill out the unexpired term, and sworn in February 14, 1898.

William B. Bate, Democrat, of Nashville, was born near Castalian Springs, Tenn., and received an academic education; elected to the Tennessee Legislature; graduated from the Lebanon Law School in 1852 and entered upon the practice; in 1854 elected attorney-general for the Nashville district for six years; in 1882 was elected governor of Tennessee, and re-elected in 1884; in January, 1887, was elected to the United States Senate; re-elected in 1893, and again in 1899.

TENNESSEE REPRESENTATIVES.

Walter Preston Brownlow, Republican, of First District, was born in Abingdon, Va.; he attended common schools for three years; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, as a Protectionist Republican.

Henry Richard Gibson, Republican, of Second District, was born on Kent Island, Queen Anne County, Md., in 1837; educated at Bladensburg, Md. and at Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.; entered the Albany (N. Y.) Law School; in December, 1865, was licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court of New York, at Albany; in January, 1866, removed to Knoxville, Tenn., and there began the practice of law; elected a member of the State Senate; elected a member of the Tennessee House of Representatives; in 1886 was elected chancellor of the second chancery division of Tennessee; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Austin Moon, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Albemarle County, Va., April 22, 1855, moved to Chattanooga in January, 1870; educated at King College, Tennessee; admitted to the bar in Alabama and Tennessee in March, 1874; elected attorney for the city of Chattanooga for 1881-82; elected circuit judge; re-elected in 1894 for a term of eight years; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Charles Edward Snodgrass, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born in Sparta, White County, Tenn., December 28, 1866; educated in the common schools of Tennessee; studied law at Sparta, Tenn.; was admitted to the bar; commenced practice of law at Crossville, Tenn., in the year 1888; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Daniel Richardson, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born in Rutherford County, Tenn , March 10, 1843; educated at Franklin College; entered Confederate Army at eighteen years of age, and served throughout the war; admitted to Murfreesboro bar January 1, 1867; elected to Legislature in October, 1871, and became Speaker of the House; elected to State Senate 1873-74; elected to Forty-ninth and subsequent Congresses up to Fifty-seventh, and became leader of the Democratic party on the floor of the House.

John Wesley Gaines, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born near Nashville August 24, 1861; graduated in medicine from the University of Nashville, and Vanderbilt University in 1882; admitted to the bar in 1884; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Nicholas Nichols Cox, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born in Bedford County, Tenn., January 6, 1837; educated in the common schools; studied law at the law school of Lebanon, Tenn.; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Thetus Willrette Sims, Democrat, of Eighth District, was born April 25, 1852, in Wayne County, Tenn.; educated at Savannah College, Tennessee; graduated in the law department of the Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tenn., June, 1876; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Rice Alexander Pierce, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born on a farm in Weakley County, Tenn., July 3, 1849; two and one-half years at the London High School, London, Ontario; read law at Halifax, N. C.; licensed to practice by the Supreme Court of North Carolina in July, 1868; elected to the Forty-eighth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second and Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward Ward Carmack, Democrat, of Tenth District, was born near Castalian Springs, Sumner County, Tenn., November 5, 1858; received an academic education; studied law, and began practicing at Columbia, Tenn.; elected to the Legislature as a Democrat in 1884; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

TEXAS SENATORS.

Horace Chilton, Democrat, of Tyler, was born in Smith County, Tex., December 29, 1853; is an attorney-at-law; appointed United States Senator by Governor Hogg, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Hon. John H. Reagan, in April, 1891; became a candidate again in 1894; elected to the United States Senate without practical opposition, as the successor of Hon. Richard Coke.

Charles A. Culberson, Democrat, of Dallas, was born in Dadeville, Tallapoosa County, Ala., June 10, 1855; removed with his parents from Alabama to Texas in 1856; graduated from the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, in the Class of 1874; studied law at University of Virginia in 1876-77; elected attorney-general of Texas in 1890 and 1892; elected governor of Texas in 1894 and 1896; chosen United States Senator January 25, 1899.

TEXAS REPRESENTATIVES.

Thomas H. Ball, Democrat, of First District, was born January 14, 1859, at Huntsville, Walker County, Tex.; educated in private schools, and Austin College; served three terms as mayor of Huntsville, and retired to begin the practice of law; attended lectures at the University of Virginia; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Sam Bronson Cooper, Democrat, of Second District, was born in Caldwell County, Ky., May 30, 1850; removed with his parents to Texas the same year; in 1871 read law; in January, 1872, obtained license to practice law; in 1880 elected to the State Senate from the first Senatorial district; re-elected in 1882; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Reese Calhoun De Graffenreid, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Franklin, Tenn., in the year 1859; went to the University of Tennessee, and graduated after taking the four years' course; graduated from the Lebanon Law School; moved to Texas; in 1883 resumed the practice of his profession at Longview, Tex.; elected county attorney; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Levi Sheppard, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born April 13, 1852, at Blufton, Chambers County, Ala.; removed to Texas about 1858; studied law under his own tutelage, and began practicing at Daingerfield, Morris County, in 1879; elected district attorney of the fifth judicial district; elected to Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph Welden Bailey, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born in Copiah County, Miss., October 6, 1863; was admitted to the bar in 1883; removed to Texas in 1885; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert Emmet Burke, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in Tallapoosa County, Ala., August 1, 1847; removed to Texas in 1866; admitted to the bar in November, 1870; elected county judge in 1878, serving three consecutive terms; elected district judge in 1888, and was re-elected in 1892; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Robert Lee Henry, Democrat, of Seventh District, was born May 12, 1864, in Linden, Cass County, Tex.; graduated from the Southwestern University of Texas in June, 1885; read law, and in January, 1886, was admitted to the bar; elected mayor of Texarkana in 1890; appointed assistant attorney-general October 3, 1893; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Samuel W. T. Lanham, Democrat, of Eighth District, was born July 4, 1846, in Spartanburg district, South Carolina; elected to the Forty-eighth Congress from the eleventh district, and was re-elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Albert Sidney Burleson, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born June 7, 1863, at San Marcos, Tex.; educated at Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, Baylor University, of Waco, and University of Texas; admitted to the bar in 1884; assistant city attorney of Austin 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889 and 1890; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

R. B. Hawley, Republican, of Tenth District, was born in Memphis, Tenn., in 1850; became a citizen of Texas in 1875; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Rudolph Kleberg, Democrat, of Eleventh District, was born June 26, 1847, in Austin County, Tex.; received a liberal education at private schools; studied law in San Antonio, Tex., and was admitted to the bar in 1872; elected to the State Senate as a Democrat in the fall of 1882; was appointed United States attorney for the western district of Texas in the fall of 1885; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James L. Slayden, Democrat, of Twelfth District, was born June 1, 1853, in Graves County, Ky.; was educated at the country schools of his native State and at Washington and Lee University, Virginia; member of the Twenty-third Legislature of Texas in 1892; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John H. Stephens, Democrat, of Thirteenth District, was born in Shelby County, Tex.; educated at Mansfield, Tarrant County, Tex.; graduated from the law department of Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., in June, 1872; served as State Senator in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Legislatures of Texas; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

UTAH SENATOR.

Joseph Lafayette Rawlins, Democrat, of Salt Lake City, was born in Salt Lake County, Utah, March 28, 1850; completed a classical course in the University of Indiana; admitted to the bar in 1875; elected to the Fifty-third Congress as delegate on the Democratic ticket; defeated for the Fifty-fourth Congress by Hon. Frank J. Cannon; elected to the United States Senate in 1897.

UTAH REPRESENTATIVE.

William Henry King, Democrat, Representative-at-Large, was born in Fillmore City, Utah, in 1863; graduated from the University of Michigan, and is a practicing attorney; three times a member of the Legislature; elected by the Democrats in 1896 to the Fifty-fifth Congress; re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

VERMONT SENATORS.

William Paul Dillingham, Republican, of Waterbury, was born at Waterbury, Vt., December 12, 1843; received an academic education, and was admitted to the bar in 1867; member of the Vermont House of Representatives in 1876 and again in 1884; State Senator from Washington County in 1878 and again in 1880; governor of Vermont from 1888 to 1890. October 18, 1900, was elected United States Senator from Vermont.

Redfield Proctor, Republican, of Proctor, was born at Proctorsville, Vt., June 1, 1831; graduated at Dartmouth College and at the Albany Law School; member of the Vermont House of Representatives in 1867, 1868 and 1888; member of the State Senate and president *pro tempore* of that body in 1874 and 1875; lieutenant-governor from 1876 to 1878, and governor from 1878 to 1880; October 18, 1892, elected United States Senator; elected October 18, 1898, to succeed himself for the term beginning March 4, 1899.

VERMONT REPRESENTATIVES.

H. Henry Powers, Republican, of First District, was born at Morristown, Lamoille County, Vt., May 29, 1835; graduated from the University of Vermont in 1855; admitted to the bar in 1858; member of the House of Representatives of Vermont in 1858; member of the State Senate in 1872-73; judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont from December, 1874, to December, 1890; elected to the Fifty second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Wallace Grout, Republican, of Second District, was born at Compton, Province of Quebec, of American parents, May 24, 1836; received an academic education and graduated at Poughkeepsie Law School in 1857; admitted to the bar in December of same year; state's attorney 1865-66; member of Vermont House of Representatives in 1868, 1869, 1870 an 1874, and of the Senate in 1876; elected to the Forty-seventh, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

VIRGINIA SENATORS.

Thomas Staples Martin, Democrat, of Albemarle County, was born in Scottsville, Albemarle County, July 29, 1847; educated at the Virginia Military Institute and at the University of Virginia; licensed to practice law in the fall of 1869; December 19, 1893, was elected a Senator from Virginia for the term commencing March 4, 1895, to succeed Hon. Eppa Hunton, and then elected by the Legislature to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. John S. Barbour.

John Warwick Daniel, Democrat, of Lynchburg, Campbell County; born there September 5, 1842; attended private schools and Lynchburg College; studied law at University of Virginia, 1865-66; author of "Daniel on Attachments" and "Daniel on Negotiable Instruments"; member of Virginia House of Delegates, 1869 to 1872; member of State Senate from 1875 to 1881; elected to House of Representatives of Forty-ninth Congress in 1884; elected to United States Senate, and took his seat March 4, 1887; re-elected in December, 1891, and for the third term December, 1897.

VIRGINIA REPRESENTATIVES.

William Atkinson Jones, Democrat, of First District, was born in Warsaw, Va., March 21, 1849; entered the academic department of the University of Virginia, from which institution he was graduated in 1870; was admitted to the bar in July, 1870; elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Second District not represented in Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Lamb, Democrat, of Third District, was born in Sussex County, Va., June 12, 1840; after the war returned to his native county; was soon elected sheriff of his county, and subsequently served his people as treasurer, surveyor, and chairman of the County Democratic Committee; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Francis Rives Lassiter, Democrat, of Fourth District, was born at Petersburg, Va., February 18, 1866; graduated in several academic schools, University of Virginia, 1883-84; admitted to the Suffolk bar,

Boston, Mass., 1887, and to the Virginia bar in 1888; elected city attorney of Petersburg in 1888 and re-elected in 1890 and in 1892; elected at a special election held April 19, 1900, to fill the vacancy in the Fifty-sixth Congress caused by the death of Hon. Sydney P. Epes.

Claude A. Swanson, Democrat, of Fifth District, was born at Swansonville, Pittsylvania County, Va., March 31, 1862; matriculated at Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va., graduating in 1885; studied law at the University of Virginia, graduating in 1886; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Peter Johnston Otey, Democrat, of Sixth District, was born in Lynchburg December 22, 1840; educated at the Virginia Military Institute; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James Hay, Democrat, of Seventh District, was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 9,851 votes, to 2,931 for D. C. O'Flaherty, Gold Democrat.

John Franklin Rixey, Democrat, of Eighth District, was born in Culpeper County, Va., August 1, 1854; was educated in the common schools, Bethel Academy and the University of Virginia; is a lawyer and farmer; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; was re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

William Francis Rhea, Democrat, of Ninth District, was born in Washington County, Va.; attended college about three years, then studied law and was admitted to the bar; elected to the State Senate; served four years and was elected judge of the city court of Bristol; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Julian Minor Quarles, Democrat, of Tenth District, was born September, 1848, in the county of Caroline, Va.; educated at Pine Hill and Aspen Hill academies, Louisa County, Va., and at the University of Virginia; is a lawyer, and commenced the practice of his profession in 1874; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

WASHINGTON SENATORS.

George Turner, Fusionist, of Spokane, was born in Edina, Mo., February 25, 1850; is a lawyer; Associate Justice of the Supreme

Court for the Territory of Washington from July 4, 1884, till February 15, 1886; was elected by Fusionists to the United States Senate, and took his seat March 4, 1897.

Addison G. Foster, Republican, of Tacoma, was born at Belchertown, Mass., January 28, 1837; in 1873 removed to St. Paul, Minn., and engaged extensively in lumbering; in Washington has extensive lumber, coal, coke, packing-house and shipping interests; was elected to the United States Senate to succeed John L. Wilson, Republican. His term expires March 3, 1905.

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES.

Wesley L. Jones, Republican, was born near Bethany, Ill., October 9, 1863; educated at Southern Illinois College, Enfield, Ill., and graduated in 1885; read law in Chicago, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1886; located at North Yakima in 1889; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Francis W. Cushman, Republican, was born May 8, 1867, at Brighton, Washington County, Iowa; educated chiefly at the high school in Brighton and at the Pleasant Plain Academy, of Jefferson County, Iowa; in 1891 he moved to the State of Washington; September 21, 1898, was unanimously nominated by the Republicans of Washington for the Fifty-sixth Congress upon a gold-standard platform, and elected.

WEST VIRGINIA SENATORS.

Stephen Benton Elkins, Republican, of Elkins, was born in Perry County, Ohio, September 26, 1841; graduated from the university of that State in the Class of 1860; admitted to the bar in 1864; removed to West Virginia, and devoted himself to business affairs; was appointed Secretary of War December 17, 1891; in February, 1894, was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Hon. Johnson N. Camden.

Nathan Bay Scott, Republican, of Wheeling, was born December 18, 1842, in Guernsey County, Ohio; received a common-school education; was elected in 1882 to serve four years in the State Senate, and re-elected in 1886; elected to the United States Senate on January 25, 1899.

WEST VIRGINIA REPRESENTATIVES.

Blackburn Barrett Dovener, Republican, of First District, was born in Cabell County, Va., April 20, 1842; studied law; admitted to the bar in 1873; elected as a representative of Ohio County in the Legislature of 1883; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Alston Gordon Dayton, Republican, of Second District, was born in Philippi, Va., October 18, 1857; graduated from the University of West Virginia in June, 1878; studied law, and was admitted to the bar October 18, 1878; elected prosecuting attorney of Barbour County; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

David E. Johnston, Democrat, of Third District, was born April 10, 1845, near Pearisburg, Giles County, Va.; received a common-school education; admitted to the bar in 1867; elected to the State Senate, served one term, resigned, and in 1880 was elected judge of the ninth judicial circuit; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Romeo Hoyt Freer, Republican, of Fourth District, was born in Trumbull County, Ohio, November 9, 1846; educated in the common schools of Ashtabula County; admitted to the bar in 1868; was assistant prosecuting attorney of Kanawha County from 1868 to 1871, and prosecuting attorney of the same county from 1871 to 1873; member of the Legislature in 1891; elected judge of the fourth judicial circuit in 1896; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

WISCONSIN SENATORS.

John C. Spooner, Republican, of Madison, was born at Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, Ind., January 6, 1843; removed to Wisconsin and settled at Madison June 1, 1859; graduated at the State University in 1864; admitted to the bar in 1867; member of the Assembly from St. Croix County in 1872; elected United States Senator for the term beginning March 4, 1885; unanimously nominated in Republican caucus January 13, 1897, and duly elected January 27, 1897, United States Senator for the term beginning March 4, 1897.

Joseph Very Quarles, Republican, of Milwaukee, was born at Kenosha, Wis., December 16, 1843; studied law; district attorney for Kenosha County for six years, mayor of Kenosha in 1876, member of the Assembly in 1879, and State Senator from 1880 to 1882; elected to the United States Senate to succeed John L. Mitchell, Democrat, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1899.

WISCONSIN REPRESENTATIVES.

Henry Allen Cooper, Republican, of First District, was born in Walworth County, Wis.; graduated from the Northwestern University in 1873, and from Union College of Law, Chicago, in 1875; member of State Senate 1887-89; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Herman B. Dahle, Republican, of Second District, was born March 30, 1855, at Perry, Dane County, Wis.; educated in the district schools and at Wisconsin State University; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Joseph Weeks Babcock, Republican, of Third District, was born in Swanton, Vt., March 6, 1850; attended school at Mount Vernon and Cedar Falls; removed from Iowa in 1881 and settled in Necedah; elected to Wisconsin Assembly in 1888 and re-elected in 1890; elected to the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Theobold Otjen, Republican, of Fourth District, was born in West China, St. Clair County, Mich., October 27, 1851; was educated at the Marine City (Mich.) Academy; admitted to the bar at Ann Arbor; removed to Milwaukee, where he has since resided, engaged in the practice of law; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Samuel S. Barney, Republican, of Fifth District, was born in Hartford, Washington County, Wis., January 31, 1846; educated in the public schools and at Lombard University, Galesburg, Ill.; admitted to bar in 1873; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

James H. Davidson, Republican, of Sixth District, was born June 18, 1858, in Colchester, Delaware County, N. Y.; received a common-

school education in the public schools and at Walton (N. Y.) Academy; graduated from the Albany Law School in 1884; subsequently removed to Green Lake County, Wis.; elected district attorney of Green Lake County in 1888; elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John Jacob Esch, Republican, of Seventh District, was born near Norwalk, Monroe County, Wis., March 20, 1861; educated at the University of Madison; in 1886 entered the law department of the State University, and graduated in 1887; commissioned acting judge-advocate-general with the rank of colonel; elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Edward S. Minor, Republican, of Eighth District, was born in Jefferson County, N. Y., in 1840; went with his parents to Wisconsin in 1845; received a public-school and academic education; was elected to the Wisconsin Assembly in 1877, and re-elected in 1880 and 1881; elected to the State Senate and served in that body in 1883 and 1885; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Alexander Stewart, Republican, of Ninth District, was born September 12, 1829, in Province of New Brunswick, and received a common-school education at that place; in 1849 he removed, engaging in the lumber business; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

John J. Jenkins, Republican, of Tenth District, was born in Weymouth, England, August 20, 1843; settled in Baraboo, Wis., in June, 1852; attended the common schools a few terms; appointed United States attorney of the Territory of Wyoming by President Grant in March, 1876; elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

WYOMING SENATORS.

Francis E. Warren.—Born in Hinsdale, Mass., June 20, 1844; received an academic education; moved to Wyoming 1868; territorial governor 1884-85; again appointed governor by President Harrison and served till the territory was admitted as a state, when he was elected

governor; was elected to the United States Senate, November 18, 1890, took his seat December 1, 1890, and served until the expiration of term, March 3, 1893; was re-elected January 23, 1895.

Clarence Don Clark, Republican, of Evanston, was born at Sandy Creek, Oswego County, N. Y., April 16, 1851; was educated in the common schools, and at the Iowa State University; admitted to the bar in 1874; removed to Evanston, Wyo.; prosecuting attorney for Uinta County four years; elected to the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses; elected January 23, 1895, to the United States Senate for the term ending March 3, 1899, to fill the vacancy caused by the failure of the Legislature to elect in 1892-93; and on January 24, 1899, was re-elected for the term beginning March 4, 1899.

WYOMING REPRESENTATIVE-AT-LARGE.

Frank Wheeler Mondell, Republican, of Newcastle, was born in St. Louis, Mo., November 6, 1860; received instruction from a private tutor; settled in Wyoming in 1887, and engaged in the development of coal mines and oil property; elected mayor of Newcastle in 1888; elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.